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**PARENTAL PARTICIPATION IN A TITLE I FAMILY
LITERACY PROGRAM:
RESULTS FROM A MIXED-MODEL STUDY**

A Dissertation

**Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree for
Doctor of Philosophy**

in

The Department of Educational Leadership, Research, and Counseling

by

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ABSTRACT

A family literacy, Title I program was studied to determine the attitudes and beliefs which affect parental participation in a family literacy program. The theoretical framework of cultural capital assumed that parents who chose to participate in a family literacy program possess different components in their cultural capital than parents who choose not to participate.

There were 3 Hypotheses and 6 Study Questions which guided this parallel mixed model study with dominant (qualitative)-less dominant (quantitative) design. A Title I Family Literacy Program located in a large, urban, public school system was the study site. The sample size consisted of 40 parents who were divided into two groups according to their participation in the Family Literacy Program: one the high-participation parent group and one low-participation parent group. The sample also consisted of 27 children whose parents were in the high-participation group.

The quantitative results provided evidence in support of the 3 Hypotheses suggesting that high-participation parents have more favorable attitudes toward their children's education than that of low-participation parents. Children participating in a Family Literacy Program also evidenced significant gains between pretest and posttest scores. The qualitative results suggested that high-participation parents held higher educational expectations for themselves and their children when compared to low-participation parents. High-participation parents also engaged in writing activities (81%) and reading activities (64%) more than low-participation parents. All 20 high-participation parents (100%) also read to their children on a regular basis, as compared to 20% of low-participation parents.

The results of this study suggest that Family Literacy Programs broaden the cultural capital of the parents who choose to participate. Parents who chose to participate in a Family Literacy program were found to undergo a process of change. The author developed a theory of parental involvement, Stages of Parental Involvement Family Literacy Programs with assumptions regarding a parent's attitudes and beliefs, networks, self-efficacy, motivation, and goals. The author discussed 4 stages of parental involvement in this theory: "Investigation," "Toe Dipping," "Step/Stand," and "Wading."

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Background of the Problem

In the United States, basic literacy skills, such as reading and writing, are of growing importance. Technological advances in the United States have made it necessary for a person to read and write to obtain employment. According to a 1985 study (Kozol, 1986), nearly sixty million Americans did not possess the basic literacy skills necessary to contribute fully to the economic or "democratic vitality" of the nation. This statistic was supported in the 1990 United States Census with increasing numbers of illiterate minorities (Hispanic, Asian, and Black). Hodgkinson (1986) stated that illiterate minorities constitute the largest percentage of high school dropouts, unemployed, welfare, and poverty cases.

Illiteracy is not simply the inability to read or write. Many people who can read and write are still considered illiterate. Sharon Darling (1992), president of the National Center for Family Literacy, defines literacy as the "possession of a continuum of skills, the ability to read something, and as a result, know something and be able to apply it" (p. 3). Thus, illiteracy is considered the inability to utilize material read, or the inability to read with understanding.

Today, public schools are faced with a very different clientele than that of 50 years ago. Tradition defines the family as a two-parent household in which a father, mother, and children are present. However, this definition of a family is currently changing, as divorce and the number of children born to single mothers result in a family with a single-parent. There are also situations where relatives, such as grandparents, aunts or uncles, raise the children. Such situations are termed "non-intact" families, and children from these families are found to have decreased academic success (Wojtkiewicz, 1993). Thus, such students contribute to the illiteracy percentages as many drop out of school before completion.

Such trends were noted in 1987 by the Committee for Economic Development with its publication of Children in Need. This publication noted that if the trends of non-high school completion and increasing illiteracy continued, America would be faced with a work force that lacked the cognitive ability to continue to be competitive in international markets. Beder (1991)

furthered this argument stating that citizens must be informed individuals with intellectual capabilities and reasoning skills to preserve a democratic society. Such capabilities are predicated on learning.

The United States government recognized and responded to the increasing needs of the public education system. In 1989, President Bush appointed a National Education Committee to investigate the increasing problems of American public education. As a result, the publication of America 2000 issued goals to be accomplished by the year 2000. These goals included children entering school ready to learn, the recognition of parents as teachers of their children since the learning process begins in the home, and parents having access and training they need to educate their children. As the new millennium approaches, school systems continue to strive to meet the goals of America 2000 under the Clinton administration.

Striving Toward America 2000

Family Literacy Programs address the America 2000 goals as such programs work with preschool children and their low-literate parents. Family Literacy Programs provide parents with the opportunity to improve their literacy skills, while, at the same time, recognizing that the parent is the child's first teacher and has the greatest impact on the child. Children begin their literacy preparation in the home long before entering schools. Parents are responsible for fostering this literacy development, thereby being their child's first teacher. Family Literacy Programs provide parents with opportunities to learn academic skills, life skills, and parenting information to make positive choices regarding their children.

Family Literacy Programs recognize and understand that parents and children come from a wide variety of background experiences. These experiences help create the attitudes and beliefs parents and children possess. Bourdieu (1984) explains that these experiences, attitudes, and beliefs form an intangible entity within each person, as well as, among individuals in a social group. This entity is termed the habitus and is responsible for determining the perceptions and behavioral patterns of individuals and social groups. Although the habitus can not be seen, it is unique to each individual with shared characteristics among a social group forming and reinforcing distinctions among these groups.

The habitus is somewhat like a bubble each person carries within a social group consisting of individual qualities and social group norms. The individual bubbles are held within the group through social constraints from opposing social groups. Such is the basis for Bourdieu's (1984) theory of cultural capital. Cultural capital, as defined by Bourdieu, is the strategies, linguistic codes, and other cultural competencies individuals learn through the association with their social group and is passed from one generation to the next. For example, children learn to speak and socialize from their parents and through interactions with their social group, so they speak in the same dialect and socialize in the same manner. Thus, individuals possess a habitus consisting of individual and social group characteristics which collectively make up cultural experiences which produce knowledge and dispositions known as cultural capital.

All individuals are exposed to a specific realm of knowledge and set of dispositions as a child, forming the basis of the cultural capital the child inherits. Since all individuals possess cultural capital based on their experiences, there are times when the cultural capital of one person clashes with the cultural capital of another person. Such a clash can produce positive effects as both individuals are introduced to new information. However, this clash can also produce negative effects as individuals may not understand the cultural capital of the other person. This misunderstanding leads to assumptions about an individual which may not be correct. Such negative effects and resulting assumptions are magnified in the educational setting as schools adopt the cultural capital of the dominant culture. Students entering the educational system with cultural capital different from that of the dominant culture, encounter difficulties as they attempt to decode the culture while learning. Thus, the culture of the school affects the student's academic achievement either positively, if the cultures are similar, or negatively, if the cultures are dissimilar.

Cultural capital impacts academic achievement in other forms. Social and family background characteristics have been linked to children's academic achievement. Both of these factors are components of an individual's cultural capital. The time, energy, emotions, and finances which parents have to distribute among their children affect academic achievement and

are part of the parent's cultural capital. Parents with limited resources are often low-income while the parent's with numerous resources are often higher-income. Since research (Astone & McLanahan, 1991; Balli, 1996; Bos, Ruiters, & Visschur, 1990; Boshier, 1973; Brizius & Foster, 1993; Cummins, 1996; Deutsch, 1967; DiMaggio, 1982; DiMaggio & Mohr, 1985; Downey, 1995b; Epstein, 1987; Farkas, Grobe, Sheehan, & Shuan, 1990; Garasky, 1995; Hauser & Wong, 1989; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 1996; Powell & Steelman, 1990; Powell & Steelman, 1993; Rumberger, 1983) has suggested that parents who spend increased amounts of time, energy, emotions, and finances on the education of their children may have children who achieve higher academically, cultural capital is seen to impact academic achievement of children.

Family structure is also part of a person's cultural capital which may affect children's achievement. Research (Hauser & Wong, 1989; Powell & Steelman, 1990; Powell & Steelman, 1993) shows that increased number of siblings negatively affects children's academic achievement. The academic achievement of children is also affected by the parental structure which is present. Families that have experienced little disruption (e.g., parental divorce or geographically relocation) tend to have children that perform higher academically.

Parents' participation patterns in their child's education also impact academic achievement and are influenced by the parent's cultural capital. Parents were in total control of their child's education at the founding of America and have slowly lessened their control through the centuries as the public school system assumed the responsibility for educating children. Today, parental participation in the education of their child is strongly encouraged, as research has shown a positive correlation between a parent's participation level and the child's academic achievement. The term "parental involvement" is used in school policy to encourage these parental involvement patterns. However, such policies differ from school to school, as does the definition of parental involvement. Such differences can be attributed to the cultural capital a school possesses.

The school possesses a cultural capital consisting of the combined cultural capital of individuals employed. Parents and children enter the school with varying degrees of

understanding toward the cultural capital present in the school. If parents and children possess similar cultural capital as that of the school, then there is little or no friction and students and parents experience success. However, the problem occurs when parents and children have different cultural capital. The cultural capital of the school and the cultural capital of the parent and child collide creating friction and misconceived notions. For example, the social skills which are part of the parent's cultural capital may differ from that of the school's. When the parent visits school, the social mannerisms of his cultural capital are displayed. If the cultural capital of the school is different from that of the parent, educational staff may misinterpret the meaning or intention of the visit producing miscommunication to the parent which is interpreted as "you don't belong here." Therefore, parents stay away and, as a result, school personnel interpret this as a sign of disinterest.

On the other hand, the opposite holds true. A parent with similar cultural capital as that of the school staff enters the educational setting and is understood. Educational staff react positively to the parent resulting in a pleasant visitation experience. The parent then continues to visit the school on numerous occasions and is viewed by school personnel as having an interest in their child's education.

As the example above demonstrates, cultural capital influences parental participation in the education of their child. Messages are conveyed between the school and parent and interpreted according to the cultural capital each possesses. The resulting interpretations may promote or inhibit parental participation. Thus, schools must become aware of the cultural capital present in their school, as well as, that of their parents. A school that possesses the traditional "middle class value system" encounters a cultural capital clash with low-literate, low-income parents. This clash has been overcome by Family Literacy Programs throughout the United States, as such programs have proven successful in working with low-literate, low-income parents. Family Literacy Programs are designed with an understanding of the cultural capital of its parents, as the program works to educate the parent and child together.

The Problem

Due to the rising rate of illiteracy in the United States, there has been a continued call for action since the 1980's. Research suggests that low-literate parents may pose one of the largest risk factors for their children not completing school and, thus, continuing the chain of illiteracy for another generation (Davies, 1987; Fingeret, 1984; Fingeret, 1983; Garasky, 1995; Lareau, 1989; Lightfoot, 1978; Manno & Winters, 1990; Ogbu, 1974; Swap, 1993; Toomey, 1989; Van Galen, 1987). Research also shows that children may perform better academically when parents are directly involved in their education (Cummins, 1986; Garasky, 1995; Henderson & Berla, 1997; Manno & Winters, 1990; Swap, 1993). Quantitative research has produced these results; however, there has not been adequate research as to why some parents who possess these high risk factors choose to become involved in their children's education. Lareau (1987) states that cultural capital either encourages or discourages parents from participating in their children's education. Lareau (1987) examined the importance of cultural capital in family-school relationships across several social classes but did not consider differences among parents with the same social class status. Research has also not defined what activities are regarded as "parental involvement" in children's education from both the parents' and teachers' points of view.

The Purpose of the Study

Past research has demonstrated that when parents are actively involved in their child's education, the child tends to perform better academically (Cummins, 1996; Henderson & Berla, 1997; Manno & Winters, 1990; Rumberger, 1983; Swap, 1993). Research has also shown that children of low-literate parents may be at a greater risk of lower academic achievement, since these parents are less likely to participate in their child's education (Davies, 1987; Lightfoot, 1978; Ogbu, 1974).

A complicating factor, however, may be the definition of "parental involvement" (Lareau, 1989; Shimon, 1992), which may be different for educators as opposed to parents. Parents may view their role in their child's education very differently from that of educators based upon

the cultural capital each possess. This difference in cultural capital may account for research findings where parents feel inadequate (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997) in regard to their ability to assist their children and become their children's first teacher.

The cultural capital a parent possesses influences involvement in their child's education. A parent's self perception, attitudes and beliefs regarding their children, interaction patterns with their child, educational expectations, and social networks are influenced by cultural capital. These influences impact a parent's cultural capital and affect the perceptions held regarding education and their child, in turn, affecting parental participation patterns.

This study examines parental participation in Family Literacy Programs in an attempt to understand that participation more thoroughly. This study was originally designed for the purpose of determining why low-literate parents of preschoolers (ages 2-5) get involved in a Title I Family Literacy Program, but has been expanded to further determine the degree to which parent's participation is dependent upon the following: their self-perceptions, attitudes and beliefs regarding their children, the availability of educational material for their children in the home, opportunities which parents allow children to initiate activity, and parental educational expectations for themselves and their preschool children. Finally, this study will also examine which parental practices teachers and parents in a Family Literacy Program view as being directly related to children's education.

Hypotheses and Study Questions

The following hypotheses and questions have been generated to guide the data collection for this study. Both quantitative and qualitative data will be collected.

Hypotheses for Quantitative Study

1. Low-literate parents who have high participation rates in a Family Literacy Program will have more favorable perceptions of themselves as being a teacher of their child when compared to low-literate parents who have low participation rates.

2. Low-literate parents who have high participation rates in a Family Literacy Program will have more favorable attitudes and beliefs regarding their children when compared to low-literate parents who have low participation.
3. Preschool children with high parental participation rates will show significant gains between pretest and posttest scores on the Early Learning Level Checklist.

Study Questions for Qualitative Study

1. What choices and opportunities to initiate activities do low-literate parents give their children in a Family Literacy Program preschool setting?
2. What activities do high-participating, low-literate parents report as being related to their children's education as opposed to low-participating, low literate parents?
3. What activities do teachers in Family Literacy Programs report as effective parental practices in children's education?
4. Is there a difference in the availability and use of educational materials in the home of high-participating, low-literate parents and that of low-participating, low-literate parents?
5. Do low-literate, high-participating parents hold different present and future educational expectations for themselves than that of low-literate, low-participating parents?
6. Do low-literate, high-participating parents hold different present and future educational expectations for their children than that of low-literate, low-participating parents?

Definitions

The following definitions will provide readers of this study with a common frame of reference:

1. At-Risk- a student or parent possessing factors which are suggested by research to be highly likely to produce school failure.

2. **Cultural Capital** -knowledge, disposition and skills which a person possesses and passes from generation to generation. For the purpose of this study, cultural capital will be measured as parental self-perceptions, parental attitudes and beliefs regarding their children, availability of educational materials in the home, and the activities parents and teachers view as directly relating to a child's education.
3. **Family Literacy** - the instruction of parents and children for the educational advancement of both.
4. **Habitus** - a theoretical concept developed by Bourdieu (1984); a structuring structure which is present in and around every individual; a theoretical bubble which individual functions within consisting of individual values, judgments, beliefs, as well as, part of the social structure within which that individual lives and functions.
5. **High-Literacy**- the possession of a continuum of skills at or above a sixth grade reading level as evidenced by standardized test scores.
6. **Illiteracy**- individuals age fourteen and older who do not possess a minimum of a sixth grade reading level or can not read and write.
7. **Literacy**- the possession of a continuum of skills, the ability to read something, and as a result, know something and be able to apply it.
8. **Low-Literacy**- the possession of a continuum of skills at or below a sixth grade reading level as evidenced by standardized test scores.
9. **Native language** - the connotations and symbolism's conveyed in expressed oral language by participants or people being observed which is unique to the participants. This includes traditionally-defined words used with alternate connotative meanings and words arranged in phrases to convey a meaning.
10. **Parent education**- organized efforts on the part of teachers and schools to provide information to parents with the goal of changing parental behavior to increase behaviors research suggests promote academic success for the children.

11. Parental involvement - actions performed by a parent which positively affect a child's education, thereby, increasing the child's academic achievement.
12. Preschool aged child - a child between the ages of 2 and 5.

Limitations of the Study

The hypotheses and study questions call for a specific population of low-literate, low-income parents to be studied. A limitation of this study is in the generalizability of results to a population beyond that of low-literate, low-income parents with children ages 2 to 5 participating in a Family Literacy Program. Since the sample used in this study is not a representative sample (parents self-selected into the high-participation group) there are also limitations to the generalizability of results.

Significance of the Study

Research suggests that children with involved parents tend to have increased academic achievement (Cummins, 1996; Henderson & Berla, 1997; Manno & Winters, 1990; Rumberger, 1983; Swap, 1993). Research has also demonstrated that parents who are low-income and low-literate are less likely to become involved in the education of their child (Davies, 1987; Henderson & Berla, 1997; Lightfoot, 1978; Swap, 1993; Ogbu, 1974). Thus, children of such parents are at greater risks for lower academic achievement. This lower academic achievement may lead to failure in school and long-term dependency on social programs. Such conditions lead to decreased quality of life for generation after generation of children.

This study investigates why low-literate, low-income parents become involved in their children's education when research indicates that these are the parents who typically remain uninvolved. This study investigates parental cultural capital as it identifies parental educational expectations for themselves and their children, the presence and availability of educational material in the home, attitudes and beliefs of parents regarding family life, and parents' perceptions of activities directly affecting children's educational attainment.

This study also identifies activities which preschool, family literacy teachers view as being directly affecting children's education. It compares and contrasts low-literate parents who do and do not participate in their children's education. Such a contrast can lead to insight and

understanding as to why parents choose to participate in the education of their child. Such knowledge is beneficial to educators as they continue to promote and strive for parental involvement in children's education, resulting in positive school-community relationships and higher academic achievement among children.

This study is a seven-chapter dissertation. Chapter 2 discusses the theoretical background and theoretical framework for this study. This discussion is followed by a literature review of factors affecting academic achievement in children, parental involvement, parental involvement models, and an explanation of family literacy highlighting the Even Start Family Literacy Program in particular.

Chapter 3 lists the Hypotheses and Study Questions and explains the design of the study. A discussion of the sampling procedure is presented followed by an explanation of instrumentation and data analysis for the quantitative and qualitative portions of this study.

Chapters 4 and 5 present the results of the quantitative and qualitative data analysis, respectively. Chapter 4 discusses Pearson's Correlation Coefficients among the PAAT score and its five subscales, followed by the results from three statistical tests of the reliability of the PAAT for the study's sample. The remainder of chapter 4 describes the results of statistical analysis of Hypotheses 1 through 3. Chapter 5 discusses the results from qualitative data analysis of classroom observations, Lincoln & Guba's Constant Comparative Method, and Spradley's Developmental Research Sequence to Study Questions 1 through 6. Chapter 6 contains a theory developed during this study. The theory, Stages of Parental Involvement in Family Literacy Programs, is a four stage model which describes the process parents undergo when they enter and participate in a Family Literacy program. Chapter 7 contains a summary of the study, results from the Hypotheses and Study Questions, conclusions, and implications for practice and research.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Studies suggest that parental involvement in children's education may increase children's academic achievement (Cummins, 1986; Garasky, 1995; Henderson & Berla, 1997; Manno & Winters, 1990; Swap, 1993). Research has also suggested that children of low-literate, low-income parents may be at greater academic risks since as these parents tend to remain uninvolved in the education of their children (Davies, 1987; Fingeret, 1984; Fingeret, 1983; Garasky, 1995; Lightfoot, 1978; Manno & Winters, 1990; Ogbu, 1974; Swap, 1993). However, Family Literacy Programs focus on this low-literate, low-income population. Family Literacy Programs promote the participation of parent and child in the learning process. Family Literacy Program parents are highly involved in the education of their children. Thus, Family Literacy Programs contradict the previous notion that this population remains uninvolved in their children's education. This study explores the participation practices of low-literate, low-income parents in the education of their children to determine why some of these parents take an active role in the education of their children and some do not.

In order to more fully understand the participation practices of parents in their children's education, Bourdieu's (1993) theory of cultural capital will be utilized as the theoretical framework for this study. The theory of cultural capital will be applied to educational settings in order that a general understanding of its components be explored. Cultural capital will also be examined as it functions in the factors affecting academic achievement in children. Parental involvement as it relates and functions within the theory of cultural capital will be discussed beginning with a brief history of parental involvement leading to models of parental involvement. Parental involvement is a necessary component of a Family Literacy Program. Family Literacy Programs involve low-literate, low-income parents that research suggests may not be involved in their child's education. However, these parents are involved and participating in Family Literacy Programs throughout the United States. Thus, the origins of Family Literacy and Family Literacy Programs will be discussed as a general knowledge basis for the Family Literacy Program utilized in this study.

The review of the literature provides evidence which suggests the importance of parental involvement in children's education. Several studies cited in the review of literature support the notion that children with involved parents tend to perform higher academically. This notion supports the need for research into Family Literacy Programs, as Family Literacy Programs serve low-literate, low-income parents with preschool children. Parents participating in Family Literacy Programs are exposed to information which may impact and alter their cultural capital, which is discussed later in this chapter. This altered cultural capital may alter the process of social reproduction, where children reach adulthood in the same social, economical class as that of their parent. Since parents who participate in Family Literacy Programs are low-literate, low-income and those parents that research suggests do not participate in their children's education, this study examines the cultural capital of these parents utilizing qualitative and quantitative methodology to determine why these parents do participate.

Theoretical Background

In the theory of social reproduction, it is believed that schools reproduce, maintain and reinforce social inequalities which exist in society. Although schools, as well as the American economy, claim to provide equal opportunity for all children, public schools, in fact, contribute to the persistence of stratification of society. Such stratification results in the reproduction of social classes. Social classes are groups of individuals who have differential access to information, experiences, services, and community resources. Such information, experiences, services, and resources contribute to a person's attitudes and beliefs which are part of a person's cultural capital. Thus, the reproduction of the status hierarchy of society and the reproduction of cultural capital are intimately linked.

The theory of cultural capital is somewhat similar to the theory of human capital in educational literature (Cohn & Geske, 1990). Human capital refers to the possession of individual qualities, such as education and health, which contribute to the quality of one's life. An individual's education contributes to the human capital of that person as it allows, or disallows in the case of lesser education, for benefits from society. The human capital returns of education can be monetary or nonmonetary. Monetary benefits are those benefits which can be actually measured in dollar amounts, for example, the teacher pay scale in Louisiana public schools

allows for an increase in pay with an increase in degree. This is a tangible, measurable benefit of increased education (for a more in-depth explanation of the monetary benefits of education, see Cohn & Geske (1990), particularly pp. 94 – 133, which explain the benefit-cost analysis of education). However, the more difficult part of human capital to measure, which is closely aligned with cultural capital, is the nonmonetary benefits, which are not as measurable or tangible as the monetary benefits.

Cohn and Geske (1992) investigate the benefits of higher education and the nonmonetary returns for individuals. They state that increases in education of individuals lead to nonmonetary benefits which increase the quality of life for that individual. Cohn and Geske (1992) state that these nonmonetary benefits influence family life in regards to spouse selection, family planning, and children rearing. Cohn and Geske find that individuals who attended institutions of higher education had an opportunity to select a mate from that setting, resulting in a mate with higher education also. Cohn and Geske (1992) cite studies (Michael, 1973, 1975; Michael & Willis, 1976) where economists found more educated couples to be more proficient in fertility control, therefore, lowering the number of children in their family. Economists also found that higher educated parents are able to maximizing the use of household resources and spend more time with their preschool children.

Other areas of nonmonetary benefits (Cohn & Geske, 1992) include a positive correlation between increased levels of schooling and good health, consumption behavior, management of assets, selection of housing, and the access to higher levels of schooling and other networking opportunities which are not available to individuals who have lower levels of education. Cohn and Geske (1992) also discuss the intergenerational effects of education as a nonmonetary benefit. They state that the research on intergenerational effects of education is inconclusive, however, research by Spiegelman (1968; as cited in Cohn & Geske, 1992) found that there were significant private benefits of education to individuals as the first generation predicted higher levels of education for the second generation. Such a concept of intergenerational effects is somewhat similar to the theory of social reproduction as social reproduction is the reproduction of social structure and the intergenerational effects of human capital are the reproduction of educational levels and its accompanying benefits.

In order to investigate the notion that social reproduction is a result of one's cultural capital, the theory of cultural capital must be discussed. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) and Bourdieu (1993, 1984) present a theory of cultural capital in education and society. Together, these works set forth a definition of cultural capital as the knowledge, dispositions, and skills which a person possesses and passes from generation to generation. The social structure of society, and social class to which a person belongs, impact upon the knowledge, dispositions, and skills which form the attitudes and beliefs people possess regarding themselves and others. Examples related to this study, would be parents' self-perceptions of their ability to teach their child, parent's attitudes and beliefs regarding their children, parental interaction patterns with their children, the home environment and materials which parents make available in the home, and parental educational expectations for their children. All these examples are influenced by the social-structural position of the parent. The social structure influences acceptable behaviors, or norms, for that group which help to shape and form the examples listed above.

The stratification of society affects access to information, experiences, knowledge, and opportunity based on social class. Such information, experience, knowledge, and opportunity differ among social groups and form the cultural capital, which is shared among members of each social group. Bourdieu (1984) acknowledges this stratification among social groups; which contributes to the cultural capital to which each group is exposed. The basic premise of cultural capital, which Bourdieu sets forth (1984), is that individuals of high socioeconomic status possess cultural capital consisting of various strategies, linguistic codes, and other cultural competencies. These individuals are exposed to opera, museums, art exhibits, plays, and other social events that are not easily accessible for those individuals not of their class. Obstacles, such as transportation and the cost associated with such events make these events almost entirely exclusive to the higher-class population. In addition to these experiences, individuals exposed to such events learn the linguistic codes, or patterns of speech, and social etiquette that is expected of this class. Individuals who are socialized in accordance with these linguistic and behavioral codes enter the school system at an advantage as the school may often have the same linguistic and behavioral codes. School may reinforce these existing linguistic and

behavioral codes which may "reproduce" the socioeconomic status to which they have been born and schooled, leading to what Bourdieu calls "cultural reproduction."

Cultural reproduction states that children of upper and working class parents inherit differing forms of cultural capital according to the exposures these children receive growing up. For example, upper class children tend to visit museums and attend operas which are characteristic of their social class. Children of the working class are not exposed to these types of activities and do not inherit the knowledge or experiences such exposure would have afforded them. Working class children, on the other hand, may be exposed to outdoor camping trips, utilization of coupons during grocery shopping, and creating their own toys from objects found outside. Thus, these two groups of children are exposed to different types of cultural capital with the experience and knowledge each type contains.

Bourdieu (1984) solidifies cultural reproduction stating that there are basically three "zones" of taste which translate into a class structure based on educational level and social class (p. 16). Bourdieu identifies three zones, which he calls tastes, as follows:

- 1- Legitimate taste: The highest of the zones consisting of the highest educational capital. Examples of legitimate taste would be Breughel's or Goya's paintings, music in the form of jazz or the "Concerto for the Left Hand," and works, such as "Well-tempered Clavier." (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 16)
- 2- Middle-brow taste: Equated with the middle class more so than the working class population; considered the intellectual factions of the dominant class. Examples of middle-brow taste would be paintings of Renoir, Buffet, or Utrillo, music in the form of "light rock" or classical music, and literature, such as the classics of Edgar Allan Poe. (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 16).
- 3- Popular taste: Most frequent among the working class and varies in inverse ratio to educational capital. Examples of popular taste would be that of country music, rapp music, and hard rock. Literature and art may be similar to that of middle-brow taste but not at the same level of exposure. Literature tastes may consist of Huckleberry Finn or Tom Sawyer. The popular taste is characterized by the total "devoid of artistic ambition or pretension." (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 16).

According to Bourdieu, an individual is born into one of these zones. This individual is exposed to the culture which exists in that zone, and this exposure results in the "taste" the individual acquires. Anheier, Gerhards and Romo (1995) explain this social typology in structural terms. They state that Bourdieu actually conceptualizes this social typology as the positioning of individuals according to similarities and dissimilarities of social relations. Individuals are able to recognize such properties or characteristics in each other due to the possession of a theoretical structure called the habitus.

Bourdieu (1984) defines the habitus as "both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgments and the system of classification of these practices. It is in the relationship between the able practices and works, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products, that the represented social world, the space of life-styles, is constituted" (p. 170). In other words, the habitus is a structuring structure which is present in every individual. It is an intangible entity which defines, develops and structures attitudes, beliefs, and experiences according to social group exposure. It affects the individual from within and determines thought and behavioral patterns which are seen externally through an individual's behavior. Therefore, the habitus is an internal and external process. Critics of Bourdieu (Loesberg, 1993) state the concept of the habitus is flawed because it is not fully defined. The habitus is not given any tangible, recognizable, physical aspects which one can point to and say, "look, there is your habitus." However, such an intangible entity is believed to exist in Christianity with the soul, in Psychology with schema, and within symbolic interactions with the concept of self.

The habitus consist of personal characteristics and social group characteristics which surround the individual somewhat like a bubble. Individuals carry this bubble at all times. Thus, the habitus consists of individual and social group characteristics which makes the habitus class, or zone, sensitive, as it allows individuals of the same zone to identify with each other. It is the presence of the habitus that draws people of similar zones toward each other forming social groups and networks. The habitus is put into practice, therefore, functioning as a structuring structure which arises from but subsequently acts to maintain the existence of social classes.

The structuring structure of the habitus maintains social classes as it limits the flow of information within a social class. The information within a social class consists of the information present in the collective habitus. The same information is circulated and acted upon within the social class which may result in the formation of additional individual's habitus consisting of the same elements. Individuals within that particular social class are exposed to limited information which contributes to the maintenance of the social class stratification.

The habitus is manifested in the behaviors and material possessions of individuals and the social class to which they identify. Outward displays of the habitus are evident in the dress of individuals, furniture, houses, paintings, books, cars, perfume, sports, games, entertainments and other preferences which individuals display through choice. These choices lead to the accumulation of cultural capital which is driven by the habitus and identifies the "taste" or zone (class) of the individual, thereby, maintaining class distinctions of legitimate, middle-brow, or popular tastes, as some individuals are drawn together, while some individuals are kept apart, again reproducing the stratification of social classes.

The habitus draws together individuals of the same class into social groups and networks. These groups share common capital, as there is a common experience base among the class. The education system acknowledges the existence of such a system and often reinforces the boundaries through academic practice which emphasizes the cultural capital of a particular group. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) state that cultural capital is the vehicle in which social inequalities are transmitted into differing academic rewards. These academic rewards lead to unequal social and economic rewards which maintain and legitimize the process of social reproduction. Since the education process reflects the dominant class, it is this class which possesses the ability to receive and decode the culture which is being transmitted, putting students of the dominant class at an academic advantage over those who are not.

Bourdieu (1984) claims that the educational system is responsible for not only transmitting cultural capital but also maintaining the stratification system as it transmits messages of the dominant class. Schools do not provide the mechanisms necessary for receiving and decoding the messages of the dominant class, as this is a family function. Students lacking dominant class status are at a disadvantage as there is no way for them to

learn to receive and decode the messages sent by the school. Thus, these students do not gain the same type or amounts of academic capital through their educational experiences due to the inability to decode the dominant culture. Hopkins (1996) acknowledges the importance of educational process, as educational institutions grant diplomas and degrees. Such degrees and diplomas adds to one's cultural capital allowing for future credentials in the world of work reinforcing the prominence of the dominant class' form of cultural capital.

Students who are not part of the dominant culture struggle in school to decode the messages and social context, as well as, learning academic material. Parents of these children experience the same dilemma often deciding to leave the education of their children to the expertise of the school system. Often this lack of parental involvement is misinterpreted as parent's not valuing education (Toomey, 1989; Lareau, 1989). In regards to education, this premise is part of the so called "culture-of-poverty," (Lewis, 1964) which assumes that lower class families possess a culture that does not value the educational system or the benefits it awards. Parents, in turn, are assumed to communicate these values (or lack of values) to their children through direct or indirect interaction (Stryker & Serpe, 1983; Fingeret 1983, 1984; Beder 1991).

The theory of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) disputes the "culture-of-poverty" thesis, stating instead that parents of lower class cultures possess educational values but these values are misinterpreted by the dominant culture. Children of lower class cultures are at a disadvantage in the educational arena as their home experiences do not train them for the adjustment to the dominant culture present in schools. Kellaghan, Sloane, Alvarez, and Bloom (1993) and Phelan, Davidson, and Cao (1991) refer to this dilemma as "discontinuities" between the home and school. This discontinuity hypothesis states that "the environment fosters the development of the particular knowledge, skills, learning styles, and values that have adaptive value for individuals living in it. Since environments differ, the competencies they nourish will also differ" (Kellaghan, Sloane, Alvarez, & Bloom, 1993, p. 25). Phelan, Davidson, and Cao (1991) found these discontinuities to not only exist among minority students, but to pose difficult situations where the interrelationships among family, friends, and school intermingle. Students were found to use different competencies in different social situations. This is also true of

parents of these students. These difference in competencies, which is part of one's habitus, between the parent and school staff may make the parent feel uncomfortable in the school setting, therefore the parent stays away. It is not that the parent does not care about the education of their child, it is the parent's habitus may have left its comfort zone and entered into unfamiliar surroundings with differing cultural capital. This may make the parent hesitant, uneasy and maybe even absent on the school campus.

All schools do not possess and reinforce the same cultural capital. The dominant culture of the school's staff may define the cultural capital which is presented in the school. Lareau (1987) found that the cultural capital which exists in a family facilitates or hinders parental compliance with the school's and teachers' requests. Such findings are furthered by Anyon's 1980 study which defined three types of schools: The working-class school, the middle-class school, and the affluent professional school. The curriculum differed in each school according to the dominant culture at the school. The working-class school emphasized and rewarded rote behavior. The middle-class school concentrated on getting the right answer. The affluent professional school regarded class work as a creative activity carried out independently. Thus, the school's cultural capital demanded and shaped a curriculum which was found in the homes of the children. These children were reinforced and educationally rewarded with forms of cultural capital which could later influence their career decisions and success.

Heath (1983) described similar situations in her ethnography of Trackton (predominately black, lower class population) and Roadville (predominately white, working class population). Heath, as Anyon, found that Roadville emphasized rote memorization as well as getting the right answer. The home cultural environment mimicked what was expected in the classroom. Trackton, on the other hand, consisted of home environments which encouraged creativity and independence, as children did not have commercial toys and had to create their own toys and games. However, Trackton children were put into the same type of school system present in Roadville. Since Trackton children did not possess the cultural capital to be successful in the type of educational system, these children experienced lower academic achievement in the early years of school. Roadville children were exposed to the skills necessary for the early years of

schooling and consequently achieved higher academically. However, this effect was not evident in later years of schooling.

Such studies have been recognized in the educational arena, as there is a call for multicultural education which acknowledges cultural differences, or differing cultural capital, among students of different social class (Gonzalez, 1993). However, in spite of the school's attempt for multicultural education, the impact of cultural capital is still present. Nespor (1990) states that social groupings organized along various social lines, that of athletics, race, and social class, sometimes work together sharing information and resources, thereby, reinforcing collective cultural capital of the dominant class. Eder and Kinney (1995) found that popularity and peer status is affected by; or perhaps may be determine by extracurricular activities and differs according to gender. These extracurricular activities place students in peer groups and expose them to different types of cultural capital. Females participate in cheerleading activities, while males participate in athletics. Such peer associations reinforce students' beliefs about themselves (Hallinan & Williams, 1990) and affect the attainment of cultural capital through peer group association.

In many cases, cultural capital varies according to not only gender (Eder & Kinney, 1995) but race (Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 1996; Mickelson, 1990). Kalmijn and Kraaykamp found that parents attempt to socialize their children into high-status culture. Such findings indicate that there has been a significant change in the type of parental cultural capital especially among Blacks. Such inculcation of high-status cultural capital can also cause problems among peer groups. As Fordham and Ogbu (1986) found, many Black students incorporate coping devices for high academic achievement, as it is not viewed favorably by their peers. Some Blacks purposely failed to achieve to their academic potential for the fear of being accused of "acting white." Although this may not always be the case, as MacLeod (1987) found high aspirations among a group of lower class, African American teens who were referred to as the "Brothers." In spite of the high career aspirations this group of teenagers held for their future careers, cultural capital prevailed through social reproduction, as the Brothers become replicas of their parents, as they too became employed in lower class jobs.

The school system awards educational credentials while acting as a "gatekeeper." Erickson (1975) found that the school counselors give advice for present and future academic course enrollment. Counselors persuade, as well as support, middle class students' academic decisions, which leads to the acquisition of academic capital resulting in cultural capital. These students are encouraged to have higher academic aspirations, while counselors may discourage or not be supportive of a student with the same academic aspirations but is of a lower class status. Thus, students acquire different academic capital, which affects their cultural capital and may result in social reproduction as students remain at the same level of their parents.

The acquisition of academic capital is also affected through the use of tracking (Oaks & Guiton, 1995; Riordan, 1997; Stevenson, Schiller, & Schneider, 1994). Oakes and Guiton (1995) found that students' resulting academic capital is affected by the track in which they are placed in school. School staff often makes such decisions early in the academic career of a student as student's abilities, motivations and aspirations are seen as fixed entities. Thus, as Riordan (1997) states, students are often placed into ability groups which becomes a permanent track by the eighth grade. Riordan states that differences between ability groups exist due to the "opportunity to learn (OTL)." Riordan found that students who are part of the higher-ability group are given more OTL as more instruction and less discipline occur. Lower-ability groups, however, tend to receive more behavior and discipline directions. Stevenson, Schiller, and Schneider (1994) brought forth the importance of a student's present OTL as it affects the student's future "opportunities to learn". Stevenson, Schiller, and Schneider (1994) found that there is a sequence which exist in science and mathematics' curricula which affords future opportunity to learn. It was found that tenth grade mathematics curricula built on skills taught in the eighth grade mathematics. Thus, students who miss out on curricula concepts in eighth grade mathematics may experience difficulties in the tenth grade. This also can be applied to ability grouping in general. Students in the low ability-group do not receive the same amount of instruction as the higher-ability group. Thus, the gap between low and high grows as the low-ability group never really catches up (Gamoran & Berends, 1987).

Cultural capital is also affected by the teacher's assignment of individual grades to students (Farkas, Grobe, & Sheehan, 1990). Farkas, Grobe, and Sheehan (1990) found that

teachers' assignment of grades differ somewhat according to student characteristics of gender, ethnicity and poverty. The study revealed that students who scored higher on national standardized test did not necessarily receive higher academic grades as assigned by the teacher. It was found that student's general skills, habits and individual styles influenced the teacher's assignment of grades. Thus, this system reinforces the unequal distribution of cultural capital as higher grades were given to students who possess skills, styles, and habits that match their teacher's. These students benefit as they obtain more academic credentials resulting in increased academic capital which translates into increased cultural capital. Students who did not match their teacher's skills, styles, and habits differed by receiving lower grades. These students are not afforded the advantages of increased cultural capital, which results from the assignment of higher grades.

In some cases, low performing students are not even exposed to the same curricula issues. Emihovich (1990) documented the fact that computers were used differently with students regarded as having low and high academic abilities. Emihovich found that low ability students were using computers for remediation while high performing students were taught to program and other more sophisticated uses of the computers. Thus, the high performing students received more computer literacy knowledge resulting in increased cultural capital.

The educational curriculum and the grades student receive lead to the accumulation of cultural capital which affects future achievement of students. Weisbrod (1962), refers to this concept as "option values". Weisbrod states that the completion of one level of training allows access to another level of training. Weisbrod also states that the returns of elementary education are very high as they are the stepping stones into high school and higher education. Valadez (1993) found that a community college, although wanting to help non-traditional students, actually limited resources and allocation of these resources due to the lack of sufficient counselors. Valadez found that many non-traditional students lacked cultural capital in the form of knowledge of the opportunity higher education had to offer. Related findings of Zweigenhaft (1992, 1993) found that students who attended elite colleges made different career choice which could be traced the amount of cultural capital they possessed entering college. Zweigenhaft found that public school graduates, more so than prep school graduates, possessed differing

amounts and types of cultural capital which affected their resulting chosen profession. It was found that prep school graduates were more likely to join prestigious social clubs and enter occupations in which their social capital would be useful, such as business. Public school graduates were more likely to activate their cultural capital in medical or legal fields.

The impact of cultural capital is evident in the educational system as curriculum material, grade assignment, course content, classroom discipline methods (OTL), and even the guidance given to students by school counselors, differ between students of high and low-social class. Such disparities result in increasing differences in cultural capital which results in social stratification. Thus, the educational system maintains a stratified society as students emerge from the educational process with differing types of cultural capital leading to future career or occupational opportunities.

Theoretical Framework

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) state that society is structured in such a way that stratification is formed and maintained through the educational system. This structuring of society creates social groups which associate amongst each other creating and maintaining cultural capital within each group. Through these associations, individuals are able to gain access to information. However, in many instances, as with that of lower socioeconomic groups, the access to information may be limited or restricted by social group exposure. Different socioeconomic groups access different information. This is the case with information on higher education as higher socioeconomic groups most often access this information.

Cultural capital that exists within a group is a result of the stratification of society. Cultural capital impacts and influences the information and resources available within its group delineation's. The habitus is class, or group, sensitive as it composed of individual beliefs, attitudes, and values which are shaped and formed through the exposure to the present cultural capital within the group and is limited by social stratification.

The educational system transfers the cultural capital of the dominant class which puts those who are not part of that dominant class at an academic disadvantage. Children not of the dominant class entering the school system must struggle to decode the messages of an unfamiliar class. For example, Hart and Risley (1995) found significant differences in the

language used and frequency of language among families of different socioeconomic and occupational levels. Hart and Risley's study (1995) suggests that children of higher socioeconomic families with professional occupation parents hear more words and experience more adult interaction daily than children of lower socioeconomic families with working-class or welfare parents. As a result, children from higher socioeconomic families enter school with a larger vocabulary and ready to decode messages to which they have probably been exposed at home. Children from lower socioeconomic families do not have this advantage upon entering schools and must struggle to decode the messages while attempting to master the curriculum.

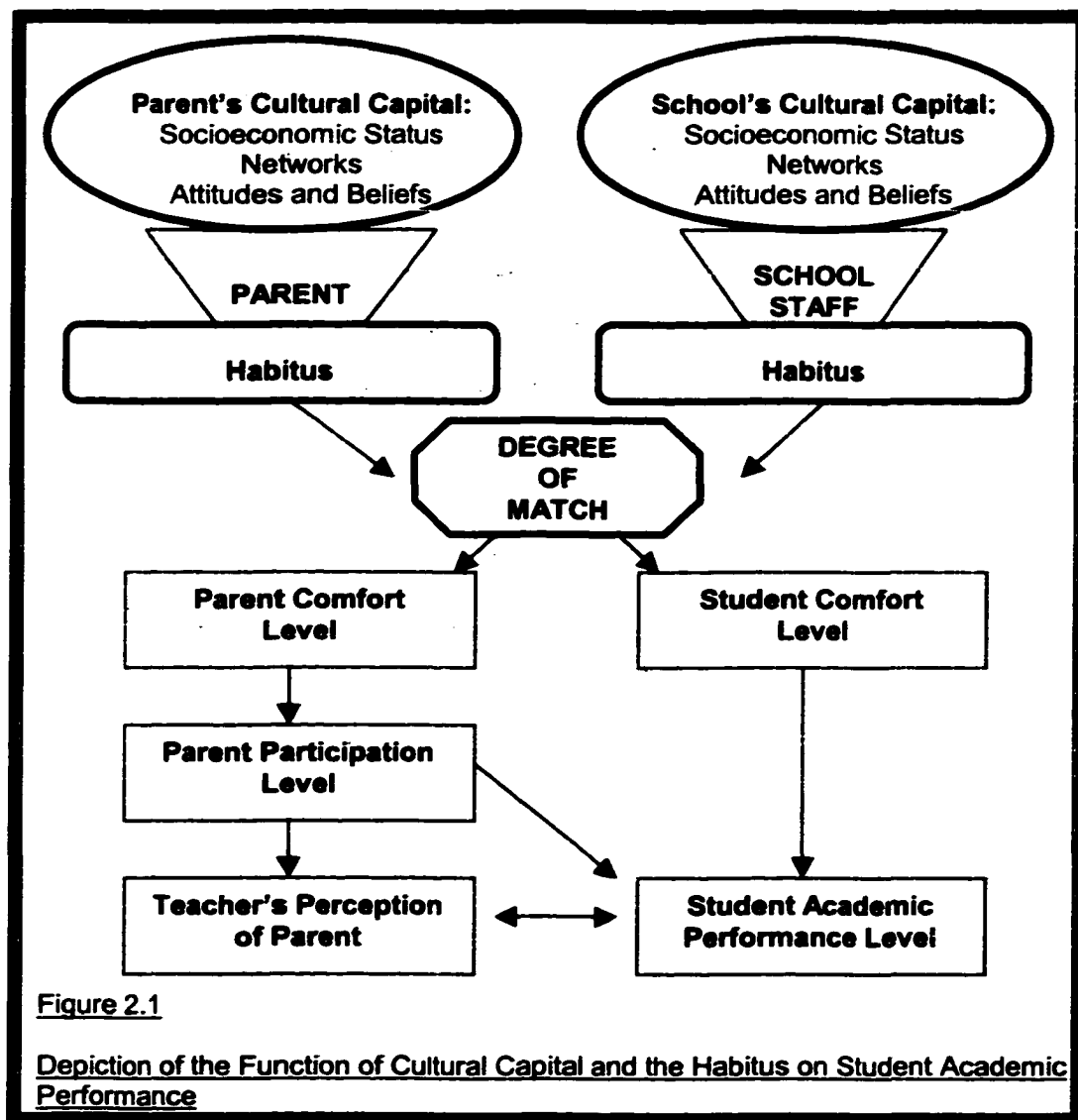
Low socioeconomic parents also experience the same difficulties, as their children entering school, with the decoding of messages. Parents may not understand the school's messages which may lead to a feeling of intimidation on the part of the parent in their view of the school. The parent is then reluctant to enter school to speak with teachers concerning their child's education. This is misinterpreted, by schools and teachers, as a lack of involvement by the parent.

Students who are part of the dominant class, on the other hand, easily decode the messages of the school and their parents have a higher comfort level and are more likely to participate in their child's education as well as being more visible at school. Teachers view this as a parent who cares about their child's education. Such views by teachers may affect academic achievement of children as teachers are more willing to work with parents who are seen to "care" about their child's education (Rosier, no date). Teachers may also spend more time on re-teaching certain concepts if the teacher views the child's parent as a parent who is involved with their child's education.

Students who are part of the dominant culture excel and reap academic rewards leading to increased cultural capital. Students who are not part of the dominant culture experience difficulty in the academic setting due to conflicting cultural orientations and do not reap the academic rewards and benefits. Thus, social reproduction occurs as both of the above students are replicated into the mold of their existing cultural capital. Family literacy recognizes this cycle and acknowledges that the only way to break this cycle is to increase and alter the cultural capital of the parent in order that their comfort level in participating in their child's education be

raised. This will increase their confidence and participation in their child's education which in turn may affect teacher views which can increase children's academic achievement (see Figure 2.1).

Cultural capital exists in every educational setting. Educators must become aware of the cultural capital which is functioning in their system in order that it be expanded to include all children and parents. Although this is an enormous and complex concept, this would create the ideal educational setting for all children to succeed. There are many factors which research has shown to affect academic achievement in children. These factors are products of the parents' and children's cultural capital and ultimately affect the success rates of parental participation and children's academic achievement.



Factors Affecting Academic Achievement In Children

Social and family background characteristics are a part of one's cultural capital and have been linked to academic achievement. Research shows that an increase in the number of children in a family has a negative impact on the distribution of parental human capital (Powell & Steelman, 1993; Powell & Steelman, 1990; Astone & McLanahan, 1991). Parental human capital, such as time, energy, emotions, and encouragement, must be distributed among more children yielding less in capital per child. Thus, as parental time and encouragement are important for a child's academic success, children tend to have lower achievement. Not only does the number of children in a family (sibship density) affect academic achievement but the spacing of the children (number of years in age difference) also impacts academic performance. Studies suggest that children who are spaced closer in years tend to deplete parental resources (Powell & Steelman, 1993; Astone & McLanahan, 1991). This includes economic and material resources.

Downey (1995a) found that parental economic levels are greatly affected when children are born close together (within one to two years). As the number of siblings increase, parents must divide present resources and often do not have adequate time to replenish resources from one child to the next. For example, parents may be able to afford nursery school for the first child but the second child may not be able to experience such a luxury. Thus, the second child does not receive the same educational experiences that can affect the future educational attainment due to the limitations, and possible depletion, of parental economic resources.

Sibship density not only affects parental resources, but the child's verbal and mathematical achievement (Powell & Steelman, 1990). It was found that when children are spaced within a year or two of each other in a family, the younger child tends to attain decreased verbal and mathematics scores. Perhaps this is attributed to learned helplessness as the younger child is cared for by the older sibling. The younger sibling does not have to interact verbally since the older sibling is there to provide what is needed. Thus, the younger sibling does not practice his verbal skills until the entrance of school when he must speak for himself.

Family structure is a part of one's cultural capital which also affects a child's academic achievement. Growing up with both biological parents is the most academically favorable family structure for a child's academic success (Garasky, 1995). A marriage in which both biological parents are still present represents an "in-tact" marriage which has produced little disruption and stress for the child. The child received attention and encouragement from both parents. However, a disruption in marriage resulting in a non-intact family negatively influences a child's academic achievement, especially when it occurs during the child's preschool years (ages 4-6)(Garasky, 1995). This disruption causes stress in the child's life at a period when the foundation for social and preacademic skills is being formed. The child does not adequately master these early skills which are needed for future success.

The family structure in which a child resides after a family disruption, also affects academic achievement regardless of the type of parental structure present at birth (Wojtkiewicz, 1993). Sandefur, McLanahan, & Wojtkiewicz (1992) found that a child who resides in a non-intact family at the age of 14 has a lower high school graduation completion rate than that of residing in an intact family. Their study further reveals that a disruption in the parental structure between the ages of 14 and 17 also decreases the chances of high school completion.

These family disruptions cause numerous family structures: mother only, father only, mother-stepfather, father-stepmother, or other structures including individuals other than the mother and father. In regards to these family structures, Downey (1995b) found that stepfathers have stronger relations with their biological children after a disruption in family structure than do stepmothers. Such stepfather - children relations may have produced the high academic achievement of the children. Wojtkiewicz (1993), on the other hand, found that living in father-only families lowers graduation completion. Garasky's 1995 study supports this finding stating that children who live with their biological mothers have higher academic achievement. A similar research study found that the mother's educational expectations tended to influence the child's academic success (Ensminger & Slusarcick, 1992). However, Wojtkiewicz (1993) found that the transition from mother-only family to mother-stepfather family has a negative effect on the child's high school graduation completion which contradicts Downey (1995b)

Research suggests that parents positively influence their children's educational attainment the greatest when the child lives with both biological parents in their household (Astone & McLanahan, 1994). Students from a one-parent household tend to exhibit behavior problems which result in lower academic achievement and higher high school drop out rates than their peers with two-parent families (Mulkey, Crain & Harrington, 1992). Single parents tend to provide less supervision for their children as their children date more frequently and experience less parental contact. These children do not experience the benefits of two adults in the household with whom they can hold conversations, discuss school work, or attain help with their homework (Rumberger, Poulos, Ghatak, Ritter, & Dornbusch, 1990). Thus, a lower attainment in education keeps children at the same income level as their parents.

As families become disrupted, many experience a geographical relocation of their home which alters, or perhaps adds to their existing cultural capital. When such a move occurs, children experience a break in their education. This break occurs in their social lives, as well as, their academic lives. Children must find new friends and learn a new neighborhood. Many families moving into a new neighborhood do not take advantage of educational opportunities, such as libraries and museums, available due to lack of knowledge of their existence (Astone & McLanahan, 1994). Many children who experience frequent relocation have lower academic achievement (Haveman, Wolfe, & Spaulding, 1991). Children who live in mother-only families or step families are more likely to move during the academic year which causes an .18% decrease in academic achievement when compared to students who did not relocate (Astone & McLanahan, 1994). Such a decrease in academic achievement is evident in the early years of a child's education, as early school experiences can affect a child for the rest of his academic career (Pallas, Entwisle, Alexander, & Cardigan, 1987). Grades received by a child in the first grade influence his self-image which affects later academic achievement (Pallas, Entwisle, Alexander, & Cardigan, 1987). Thus, a move during the early years of a child's social and academic life alters his ultimate academic achievement.

Other family characteristics, which impact one's cultural capital, such as parental education, income and inter-sibling relations, also, affect academic achievement. Downey (1995a) reports a positive correlation between parental income and a child's academic

achievement. As a parent's income increases, more resources and opportunities for learning become available within the home. Parents have the financial resources and are more apt to invest in educational materials, as well as, leisure magazines, and take the family on outings around the community. These types of experiences help to increase the educational foundation upon which the child's future educational success is built. Siblings within a family also affect academic achievement, as families with increased females tend to have higher grade-point averages regardless of the gender of children (Powell & Steelman, 1990). Having an older brother, however, seemed to have a positive correlation with the educational achievement of younger male siblings (Hauser & Wong, 1989). Thus, this effect runs intergenerational from parent to child and intragenerational from child to child.

The previous research findings have demonstrated that cultural capital is manifested in the social background and family structures which affect children's academic achievement. The research also demonstrated that many of these effects, along with the cultural capital produced, are transferred from generation to generation, parent to child, and child to child. With this in mind, education becomes an important family issue if the chain is to be broken. Such is the premise of family literacy models where parents are the crucial factor for success. Before family literacy models can be successful, parents must become involved in the education of their child. Therefore, the following section will examine the history of parental involvement which leads to the current status of parental involvement models in American Education.

Parental Involvement

Parental involvement is not a new concept in the educational realm. It is a term which has been used, set aside, and, revived once again, in response to the educational politics of the era. The educational policies of the 90's emphasize the need for parental involvement, hence, a brief historical review of the role of parents in their children's education is provided. This review demonstrates that parents have been included, then excluded, then included again from the educational process since the founding of the America.

During the formation of the American colonies in the seventeenth century, there was no vision of a public school system. The family served as the primary social, production, and educational unit. Although the Southern, Middle, and New England colonies had very different

educational arrangements, all viewed education as the primary responsibility of the parents (Rippa, 1992). The Southern colonies employed private tutors, the middle colonies began a "public system" in 1682, and the New England colonies established the most advanced form of education with the dame schools and Latin grammar schools.

The Puritans of the New England colonies placed such a high value on education that in 1642, passed a law requiring parents to ensure the literacy of their children. Perhaps this was the first "legal" or "written" form of parental involvement in the education of children. The law stated that parents would be fined for failure to ensure the literacy of their children. In 1647, the New England colonies passed for the Old Deluder Satan Act which established and supported a religious school system to develop in students a passive acceptance of the political and religious teachings. (Rippa, 1992; Kaestle & Vinovskis, 1978)

The eighteenth century brought the "Age of Enlightenment." During this time period science and mathematics advanced and a new religion known as Deism surfaced. Along with such new ways of thinking, John Locke's theory of "tabula rasa" denounced the Puritan views of children being as "miniature adults" needing harsh, strict, dogmatic discipline to become productive adults. Instead, Locke stated that a child is born into this world as a blank slate, upon which experiences build knowledge through sensations. Locke denounced the Puritan beliefs of human depravation and strict discipline for children. Locke's successor, Jean Jacques Rosseau, furthered his beliefs and emphasized the importance of innate goodness in early childhood. Pestalozzi supported these views and emphasized the importance of natural experiences during childhood. Froebel built upon these ideas through the establishment of kindergarten in Germany, taking early childhood education from the parent and placing it in a public sector. Parents were encouraged to participate in children's education by providing them with experiences in the real world. Rosseau also emphasized a more humane treatment of children, as they are not merely little adults but children with special needs. Such ideas made their way to the United States via John Dewey in the nineteenth century as he established kindergartens modeling from Froebel in Germany.

During the nineteenth century, the United States experienced the Common School Movement. Up to this time, much of the wealthy parents tended to the education of their

children through the use of private tutors or schools. However, with an influx of immigrants, the "common" person needed to be educated. The tenth amendment of the United States Constitution made education the responsibility of the state. It gave the state the power to tax citizens in order to support public schools. Such support for education made it a civic duty for citizens taking the responsibility from individual parents. Public schools enabled immigrants to be trained and immersed into an "approved" culture. It also provided for the education of all children regardless of race, religion, or social class. The movement also took children out of the factories and put them into classrooms.

However, there were arguments against the Common School Movement. Such a movement taxed wealthy individuals who were likely to exercise their parental choice and send their children to private schools. Thus, they were paying to educate other people's children in addition to their own. The movement also took education out of the home and made it a public issue. Parents became involved in a newly industrialized society. As women entered the work force in the late nineteenth, early twentieth century, attitudes toward the family began to change as education became less a parental concern and more and more a public issue (Joffe, 1977).

The White House Conference on Care of Dependent and Neglected Children of 1909 acknowledged that the mother was the "best guardian" of her children and made grants available for widows and wives to stay home and care for their children (Joffe, 1977). But grants were soon depleted and women re-entered the work force allowing the public education system to educate their young. Soon public education became the "authority" on education, pushing parents aside. Such attitudes and practices strengthened as it became evident that parents were virtually ostracized from the public education system as education assumed complete control over decisions of curriculum and other school functions.

Research began to surface in the late fifties which examined the parental concerns of their children in public education (Kohn, 1959). Kohn (1950) found that working class parents tended to be most concerned with ensuring their children were respectable enforcing physical punishment and utilizing direct demands for children's compliance. Middle class parents tended to be concerned with internalized standards of conduct that were socially acceptable. Middle class parents tended to use more subtle parenting styles, allowing their children the opportunity

to reason their behaviors. Thus, a more "working-class" perspective of schooling was adopted as children were expected to complete tasks designed in a factory model. Public education was molding children to be compliant and parents were not regarded or consulted in the educational process (Tizard, Montimore & Burchell, 1981).

Such attitudes on parents' presence at school prevailed to the 1960's. Research began to surface (beginning in the 1930's) showing the importance of family influence on life chances leading to individual social mobility (Elder, 1978). This research highlighted the problems of unemployment, economic hardship, and public assistance. Such research was recognized as President Johnson's "War on Poverty" established Head Start in the summer of 1965 (Hoing, 1975; Weikart, Deloria, Lawser, & Wiegerink, 1970). Head Start was established through social demand based on theoretical concepts not supported through empirical research. Head Start theorist recognized a relationship between parent involvement in schooling and the academic progress of children but had no research to back this observation (Weikart, Deloria, Lawser & Wiegerink, 1970). Based on these observations, Head Start implemented activities for fostering low-income children's cognitive, academic, and social development to provide early educational experiences (Flaxman & Inger, 1991). Such experiences were family and community directed recognizing the importance of these two factors in the development of young children (Powell, 1982).

During this same year, the federal government also responded with a mandate for parental involvement through legislation for Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Hoing, 1975). Although parental involvement was not the main driving force behind Title I, this legislation acknowledged that children from economically disadvantaged families tended to interact less with adults (or their parents) and developed fewer literacy skills through the home (Koch, 1996). These children entered the school system with a disadvantage as opposed to children of more affluent families. Therefore, Title I funding was to be used to target disadvantaged students providing a curriculum of remedial services each individual school felt was appropriate to meet the needs of the community (Koch, 1996). Although Title I (later termed Chapter 1, then re-titled Title I) established mandates for parental involvement in schools, funds were not provided for such mandates leaving schools to find money for

implementation in their existing school budget. As a result, schools mostly ignored these mandates. Schools adopted the "professional" attitude toward parental involvement where they encouraged and reassured parents of the effective job schools were doing in the education of their children while parents watched from the sidelines.

The 1970's began a revival of old colonial educational principles where parents assume responsibility for the education of their children, as American educators began emphasizing the importance of such parental participation (Powell, 1988). This was heightened with the release of "A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform" in 1983. The report found that 23 million adults were functionally illiterate. It also stated that the curricula in high schools had been "watered down" and the emphasis on education lost. Parents had been alienated or disenfranchised from the educational system as they yielded to "expertise," "authority figures," and "education judges" who decided what their children would learn (Bennett, 1992). Parents needed to be brought back into the educational arena beginning as early in the child's schooling as possible.

A wealth of literature on parental involvement and parent programs in education was produced during the 1980's. Morrow, Tracey, and Maxwell (1995) conducted a survey of Family Literacy Programs in the United States. All of these programs have a parent program or initiative incorporated. Their study yielded 61 programs in existence, which emphasize the importance of parental participation (not to mention individual school or district incentives).

The 1980's also heightened the awareness of the divergent goals and practices between the school and the family (Epstein, 1983). Although the current literature does not cite cultural capital, Epstein (1983) alludes to the notion as she states that parenting style and the home environment were seen as major factors in the responsiveness with which the student interacted with the school. Epstein (1983) found that the "practices" of the family and school (which are influenced by cultural capital) were more important than the socioeconomic status of the family. She defined "parent involvement" as referring "to parents' responses to teacher's requests and instructions for assisting their children at home with learning activities related to school work" (Epstein, 1985). Such findings stress that family patterns are more influential on a

student than socioeconomic background. Parents who assist their children in educational matters, regardless of income, have children who tend to perform higher academically in school.

However, some studies provided contradictory evidence as social class was found to be a factor influencing parental involvement (Lareau, 1989; Lightfoot, 1978; Ogbu, 1974). Such studies found that working and lower class parents tend to get less involved in their children's education and fail to attend parent-teacher conferences. Lareau (1989) states that this relationship varies by social class. Parent-school relationships of the working class are characterized by separation as the parents seek little information about curricular matters and focus on non-academic matters (such as discipline). The upper-middle-class parents, however, are characterized by interconnectedness as family life and school lives intermingle. These parents share in the responsibility of educating their children. Many of these parents, but not all, reinforce the curriculum at home and seek help for their low-achieving child.

Lareau (1989) suggests this distinction might be caused by teachers treating the working class families differently from the upper-middle class families. Teachers often request parents' help with children who are low-achievers (more often from working-class families). Upper-middle-class parents are more likely to hire tutors when their children experience academic difficulty. Such parental behaviors are viewed as being "more concerned" or "more involved" with their child's education and, therefore, the teacher devotes extra time and attention to the student. The working-class parent may not have the time to devote to assisting their child and may be unable to afford the cost of a tutor, and, therefore, may be viewed as "uninterested and uninvolved in their children's education by teachers.

Lareau (1989) also states that teachers asked for parental involvement but only as such involvement was under their control. Such a teacher-parent relationship was hierarchical with the teacher adopting a superordinate role and dictating how the parent was to participate. The parent was not viewed as a "partner" with equal input in their child's education. The teachers wanted "to control the amount of interconnectedness between the home and school" (Lareau, 1989, p. 35). Teachers did not want parents "monitoring" their children's education, but rather simply complying with the request of teachers. Thus, "parents prepared children for school; teachers educated them" (Lareau, 1989, p. 49). Van Galen (1987) found similar results stating

teachers believe parents should participate in their child's education without "undermining the status of the teacher" (p. 89). Such issues lead to power struggles between the teacher and parent as the parent is concerned with one child in one class and the teacher is concerned with all the children in her /his class.

In spite of such dilemmas, the literature of the 80's focused heavily on bringing parents into the schools. Lyons, Robbins, and Smith (1983) dedicated a book to involving parents in the school. The book served as a guide for parent participation. Lyons, Robbins, and Smith (1983) state that three elements are important for a home-school relationship to be successful: It is important to try to reach all parents, the relationship is a two-way process, and there should be active leadership. Although these three points are worthy, the seven "vital ingredients" of parental involvement allow the school to dictate the type of relationship the parent will experience. These ingredients include: "provide coordination for activities, assess needs and resources, specify and communicate parent roles, recruit, select and assign parent participants, train parents and staff, establish communication channels, and support ongoing activities" (Lyons, Robbins, and Smith, 1983, p. 10). Thus, their "two-way" process is not really that at all. It is a dictatorship of "how" and "what" participation parents will experience in the school. Having a planned and well-organized parental participation program is a good idea, however, Lyons, Robbins, and Smith (1983) emphasize that parents should know their "role" and have "specific tasks" designated to them. Examining this from the cultural capital perspective, the schools will dictate tasks deemed appropriate by the cultural capital functioning in the school. However, the parent's cultural capital may not be the same causing the parent anxiety about entering the school system to perform designated tasks and, perhaps, remaining uninvolved in the educational process altogether.

Parental Involvement Models

The closing of the nineteen-eighties brought a new look at parental involvement. Epstein (1987) conducted a survey of the literature, beginning in the 70's, which pointed to the importance of parental involvement in children's education. She found that parental involvement is repeated over and over in the literature as an element to cause change in schools. The research, she states, demonstrates that parental encouragement, activities, and interest at

home directly affect children's achievements, attitudes, and aspirations at school (even when family socioeconomic status and student ability were accounted for). Epstein outlines an 8 step approach, very different from that of Lyons, Robbins, and Smith (1983), for administrators and teachers to successfully involve parents in "coordinating, managing, supporting, funding, and recognizing" parent involvement (Epstein, 1987, p. 133). Her 8-step plan is as follows:

- 1- Educating staff on research and findings concerning the importance of parental involvement.
- 2- Educating staff on "the kinds of parental assistance needed to build students' social skills, basic skills, and advanced skills at each grade level." (Epstein, 1987, p. 134)
- 3- Document and coordinate efforts of all staff members in the school concerning parental involvement.
- 4- Development of activities for parents to work with their children at home on basic and advanced skills.
- 5- Encourage a district-wide teacher network for parental involvement ideas and information.
- 6- Providing grants and compensation for teachers to work and communicate with parents after school hours.
- 7- Recognize parents and teachers who do a good job of parental involvement at home and at school.
- 8- Implementation of positive parental involvement practices at all grade levels over a two-year period.

Epstein (as cited in Brandt, 1989, p. 25) also identified five types of parental participation which are based on the level of participation at school that the parent assumes, however includes more parental power in the model. The five types are:

- 1- Parent's Basic Obligation- parents perform family responsibilities to ensure children's health and safety.
- 2- School's Basic Obligation- school communicates to parents basic information concerning program, curriculum, and child's progress.

- 3- Parent Involvement at School- parents volunteer to assist teachers, administrators, and children in academics, sports, workshops, and other school activities.
- 4- Parent Involvement in Home Learning Activities- parents initiate learning activities at home for children or helps children with assignments upon request.
- 5- Parent Involvement in Governance and Advocacy- parents assume decision-making roles in the school, district, or state level of education that monitors school improvement.

Epstein's five types of parental involvement and the 8-step plan for parental involvement acknowledge that parents do not have to be present at school to be involved in their children's education; however, Epstein's types of parental involvement implies more parental power as parents become involved in the governance and advocacy of schools. Chavkin and Williams (1987) support Epstein's view citing Seeley (1984) as stating the first important step for successful parent-school relationships begins with acknowledging that families and schools are different institutions having different value systems. Chavkin and Williams (1987) state that "administrators need to look beyond traditional ways of working with parents" (p. 181), as well as, being sensitive to parent's needs, varying skills and capabilities. This means laying aside the misconceptions concerning attitudes, aspirations, and capabilities of parents as educators try to understand the parents of the children they are teaching (Moles, 1987).

Educators need to work with all parents to promote the educational attainment of children in school and at home. Thus, McAffe (1987) calls for new types of staff development which assesses the needs and interests of staff working with parents, developing goals and objectives for a program, acquiring resources and designing activities, and evaluating and adjusting the program to meet the differing needs as they arise. Parental involvement is a process; not a program which is implemented and never reviewed, improved, or revised.

Davies (1987) suggests that schools and parents are able to work together through four modes: 1- coproduction, 2- decision making, 3- citizen advocacy, and 4- parental choice. This is similar to Epstein's model for parental involvement allowing parents greater freedom in their "parental participation." Davies explains that coproduction is making information available to parents to help tutor their children, help with homework, and make decisions concerning their

child's education. Coproduction also includes frequent reporting of the child's achievement by the teacher with suggestions to reinforce learning at home. Research suggests that the teacher may impact parental involvement (Hoover-Dempsey, Bassier, & Brissie, 1987). Thus, the teacher plays an important role as parents become decision-making partners in the educational process of their child. This can be extended into school involvement through advisory committees and other such organizations. Such participation allows and encourages parents to become "citizen advocates," not only for their child, but the school system as a whole. Parents can band together representing special interests or to support important legislation. They can also launch public awareness campaigns to involve the entire community in the education of its children.

Davies (1987) states that parental choice is very different from the other three elements he proposed. While the first three elements deal with making information available to parents, parental choice allows parents to act by choosing which school their child will attend, as well as governmental policies that should foster this choice. In other words, school systems should allow parents to "vote with their feet" (p. 154) for the school they feel best represents their educational goals for their children. Such programs as tuition tax credits, vouchers, open enrollment, alternative schools, and magnet schools would allow parents to choose which school would educate their child. Such programs, persisting through the nineties, are highly debated.

Parental involvement can create educational inequalities among individuals as Toomey (1989) explores. He states that the parents most likely to respond to invitations of parental involvement are those parents who are confident in their dealings with the school. These parents gain information and skills which benefit their children educationally and promote positive attitudes. Thus, parents with less confidence do not transmit these benefits to their children, creating further inequalities in education. Davies (1987) calls this the "middle class advantage."

The parent involvement issues which prevailed through the eighties are also present in the nineties. Federal funding has specifically targeted programs including and promoting "parental involvement" in schools. Shimoni (1992) states, however, that the definition of "parental involvement" is debated by many authors causing great confusion. Shimoni (1992)

also acknowledges that parental involvement means different things to different people who use the term. She further states that a parent's presence in the classroom is often seen as an intrusion, as there is a "considerable gap between how staff and parents perceive the nature and amount of desired and actual involvement" (Shimoni, 1992, p. 74). This brings up the issue of should parental involvement be influenced and encouraged by educational staff or controlled through specific school policies, which delineates what parental involvement activities. This is a debate which has not yet been answered.

Another issue surrounding parental involvement is the diversity of the families which exist in today's society. Balli (1996) states that children internalize parental expectations about education and perform accordingly. Such verbal and nonverbal messages from parents prompt children to succeed or fail in school. Thus, once again, the call for parents to be involved in their children's education. However, some parents choose not to participate. Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997) reviewed psychological theory and research to determine why parents become involved in their children's education. They found that there are three factors which influence parents to get involved: Parent role construction, parents' sense of efficacy, and parents' perceptions of the children's and school's invitations to participate.

A parent's role construction and sense of efficacy deal with personal characteristics which the parent does or does not possess. Parents construct beliefs on child rearing, as well as their abilities to do so. These beliefs flow into the educational realm as parents' sense of self-efficacy affects their beliefs as to whether or not they can actually impact their child's learning. A parent with positive role constructions and a high sense of self-efficacy will more likely become involved in his child's education (Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler, 1997).

Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997) found that the actions on the part of the school, whether it is sending an invitation or a "stay-away" message, affect the likelihood of a parent's participation. Fine (1993) states that the school's call for parental involvement is a way of blaming parents for the lack of educational success of children. Fine states that parents of urban schools do not get involved because they often viewed as intruders and treated "less than the professionals" (p. 684). Fine suggests further, through her research, that the notion of "empowered and involved parents produce educated students can simply be put to rest" (p.

691). She acknowledges that parental involvement is needed to improve education but the nation, state, and community need to make a serious commitment to children through the restructuring of schools. Parent involvement will not reform education alone.

Epstein (1993) and Spring (1993) do not directly agree with Fine's proposal. Epstein suggests a change from the term parental involvement to "family and school partnerships" (p. 710). She states that the term partnership expresses and implies shared responsibilities of the education of children between the school and family. She adds a sixth type of parental involvement to her previously stated model. Type six acknowledges the collaboration between community groups and agencies emphasizing education is not confined to the home or school. Spring (1993) echoes Epstein in stating that Fine (1993) does not acknowledge the efforts the home, school, and community have made to the education of children. Shockley, Michalove, and Allen (1995) agree with Epstein and Spring as they suggest "partners in literacy: home and school" (p. 11). Shockley, Michalove, and Allen (1995) state that literacy is a community, home, and school affair. All three components must understand and work together to form a "partnership" for success. Such efforts as shared decision-making and school-based management are movements toward more parent-school partnerships in all aspects of children's education.

As partnerships and shared decision-making is explored for parental participation, it must be noted that there are three levels of parental involvement. These levels consist of administration, teacher, and parent. However, the three levels do not view or practice parental involvement in the same light or fashion. Definitions of what constitutes parental involvement also differ between the three levels, as discussed below.

Administration is the encompassing school level that initiates or mandates teachers to engage parents in educational activities. Such mandates are often not accompanied by additional instructions of how to do that. Administration is often aware of the current research that states the importance of parental involvement in their children's education for academic success. In addition, the district, state, or even federal levels of government (Title I) may make moneys available for such initiatives but they also lack specification of "what constitutes parental involvement" and "how to accomplish it." Many administrators enact policies of "signing-in"

when parents visit the classroom. Part of this may be done to ensure the safety of the children so the principal knows who is on campus at all times. However, such practices are also done to allow the principal to monitor "which parents are becoming involved," as well as "which teachers are involving parents."

Teachers are bombarded with request and mandates from the administration level to include parents in the education of their children. Administrators often want to see parents on campus and in classrooms. Thus, visibility of parents is a sign of parental involvement. Parents come to school and perform various tasks ranging from secretarial work to teacher's aide. Teachers who are not accustomed to having parents in the classroom may not know exactly how to engage parents in activities. Teachers are faced with the first, and foremost, challenge of getting parents into the classroom. When targeting the low-literate population, as this study has, research shows that this population considers education to be burdensome and frightening rather than enjoyable or stimulating. Fingeret (1983, 1984) and Beder (1991) attribute these attitudes to past experiences of educational failure.

Thus, teachers of students with low-literate parents are faced with the challenge of motivating parents to become involved in their children's education. Boshier (1973, 1977) describes a congruence model of motivation to participate in adult education. Such a model is appropriate for parental involvement because it deals with the same population (low-literate adults). Boshier found two underlying motivations he labels as deficiency and growth. Growth-oriented learners are intrinsically motivated by factors they naturally possess. Intrinsic motivation propels the individual to act out of personal pleasure gained through the act. Thus, the motivation to learn is intrinsic and may result in personal pleasure or personal gain.

Deficiency-oriented learners find the motivation to learn through pressure from social and environmental factors. Such learners attempt to meet basic needs that are often lower than those of growth-oriented learners. Deficiency-oriented learners do not see the need of education, as it does not pertain to every-day life activities.

A study completed by Holmes (1991) explored factors promoting or inhibiting adults' participation in an adult education program which provides an alternate view from that of the congruence model (Boshier, 1973, 1977). The sample in Holmes' study consisted of 3,231

adults enrolled in adult education programs throughout Louisiana. Holmes found that the majority of adults participating in adult basic education did so to obtain a GED. Parents also indicated that they participated in adult education to get a job or a better job. Several parents entered with no specific goal indicated they just wanted to participate.

Holmes (1991) also looked at why parents discontinued their participation in adult education programs. Unlike Boshier (1973, 1977) who may consider a parent who quits adult education as a deficiency-oriented learner lacking the necessary external motivation to continue, Holmes (1991) found that 46% of the adults in her sample did not continue adult education due to financial reasons and needed to work, 18% due to personal reasons, and 13% due to transportation problems. These findings suggest that participation in adult education programs is not affected by the adult's motivation alone. There are social and economical factors which must be considered.

Understanding why adults may chose to participate or not to participate in adult education programs can help teachers to initiate "chain of responses" (Cross, 1981, p. 27) to get parents involved in their children's education. Teachers must initiate small steps toward participation for parents who are reluctant to enter the classroom. According to Cross, this chain of responses (in adult education) begins with the realization of the attitudes the adult possesses. This realization is acknowledged by the parent and the teacher. The teacher acknowledges the difficulty the parent may have in entering the classroom and arranges an environment that is accepting and non-threatening. The second step is helping the parent to develop a new attitude toward education. Teachers need to help parents see the importance and value of education in order that they may, in turn, impress such an importance upon their children.

By getting parents into the classroom, teachers are able to share educational experiences and expectations for children. Parents are introduced to methodologies the teacher employs to educate their child. Parents also become aware of what is being learned in the class and can carry-over that learning into the home.

The last level of participation is that of the parent. Parents may or may not choose to become involved in their children's education for several reasons. One reason, discussed previously, is that of negative educational experiences. Parents may be reluctant to enter the

classroom due to their own experiences of failure. These feelings of inadequacy place the parent in a subordinate position as they view the teacher as a superior or expert in the education of their child. Parents feel they lack the capabilities to become involved and assist their child, as they do not have the education to do so.

A second reason for lack of parental involvement in schools may be as Finn (1989) described. Finn developed a "participation-identification model" to explain why adults become involved in adult education and schooling. This is also applicable to parental involvement in school. The participation-identification model identifies two aspects: belonging and valuing. Parents must first identify with the school and develop a feeling and attitude that they belong in the school. Parents must also develop an attitude of valuing the education their child is receiving. As Finn's model states that successful students actively participate in schooling, leading to success in school-related goals, which, in turn, strengthens the student's identification with the school, this is also true of parental involvement. As parents experience successful ventures in the school, they will begin to understand the goals of education for their children, in turn, strengthening their identification with the school and increasing their participation.

Such an idea of parental participation focuses on the parents' visibility at school. However, this is not the only means of parental involvement (Fullan, 1991). Fullan acknowledges that there is "parental involvement at school (e.g., volunteers, assistants)" and "parent involvement in learning activities at home (e.g., assisting children with homework, home tutors)." Fullan further describes that parental involvement with their children can be instructionally related or noninstructional forms of parent involvement, such as going to the mall and playing pitch-and-catch. Both forms of parent involvement are believed to be important as both foster the development of the child.

Parent participation at home encompasses all educationally oriented tasks performed with parent's initiation. Parents may include children in the preparation of meals teaching children how to count, measure, and follow directions. Such activities help education "come alive" as children learn and apply skills in a real-life setting that is meaningful and purposeful. Teachers can help initiate such activities by providing parents with ideas of educational learning opportunities which exist in everyday life. As parents learn to identify literacy and literacy

activities in their everyday lives, they become more aware that they are active participants in their child's education. Although this may be seen as "family literacy," (Brizius & Foster, 1993) the following section examines the various meanings of family literacy and the policies which govern the recognized Family Literacy Programs throughout the United States.

Family Literacy: Parental Involvement in the Education of Children and Adults

Family literacy, in its simplest form, is the instruction of both parents and children. Although the term has several meanings, the core of family literacy is the breaking of bonds which tie families to intergenerational poverty (Jongsma, 1990). Ventura-Merkel, Liedeman, & Ossofsky (1989) refer to the concept of family literacy as intergenerational programs which are "purposeful" (p. 174) gathering of parents and their children for planned activities in adult literacy, parenting, and early childhood. Family literacy equips parents with educational skills and parenting techniques which improve the quality of life within the home to which the child is exposed. Thus, creating a more literate environment for the child to learn and grow. Research shows that "parents are their children's first and most influential teachers. What parents do to help their children learn is more important to academic success than how well-off the family is" (U. S. Department of Education, 1986, p. 7). Also, recent advances in the area of medicine have allowed scientist to study the activity levels of the brain of infants. These studies (Shore, 1997; Sprenger, 1999) proved that infants and children who receive appropriate stimulation develop more synapses connections in the intellectual areas of the brain which may ultimately affect a child's academic achievement.

The origins of family literacy can be traced to the early 1970's to Congressman Bill Goodling and his term in the Superintendency of Pennsylvania schools. Congressman Goodling preached the importance of educating adults to work with schools in educating children. However, the prominence of family literacy is a fairly new concept conceived in 1985 when Sharon Darling, director of adult education for Kentucky Department of Education (now president of the National Center for Family Literacy), enacted the PACE program (Parent and Child education). This program consisted of parental involvement in the early education of their children. The program looked toward the family as the solution to the cycle of illiteracy rather than the problem. Through PACE parents gained basic language, math, and social studies

skills in which they could complete their education. PACE also provided parents with courses in child development and learning which better equipped them to work with their children at home. PACE reaped its success in 1988 when it was named by the Ford Foundation and Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government as one of the ten most outstanding innovations in the state and local government in Kentucky. (Brizius & Foster, 1993).

The success of PACE was reinforced through what became known as the Kenan Model. Upon stirring the interest of Thomas S. Kenan III and the Kenan, Jr. Charitable Trust, family literacy became a major investment for the foundation. The Kenan Trust adopted and altered the PACE model by requiring parents to attend class with their child, volunteer at schools, and made training available for teachers. The Kenan model also included a preschool curriculum based on the High Scope model of instruction (See Weikart, Deloria, Lawser, & Wiegerink, 1970, for explanation and research findings regarding this curriculum). Over 300 families throughout Kentucky and North Carolina participated in the Kenan Model of Family Literacy. The following research results stemmed from this approach:

1. Parents had higher than expected self-confidence and motivation (Brizius & Foster, 1993, p. 30).
2. Family literacy teachers had positive attitudes toward parents (Brizius & Foster, 1993, pp. 30-31).
3. Parents experienced personal changes as they were no longer afraid of challenges, wanted to get off welfare and food stamps, and were no longer afraid to speak in public (Seaman, 1992, p. 77).
4. Parents experienced changes as learners as they began to read the newspaper, books and magazines (Seaman, 1992, p. 77).
5. Parents were found to be more supportive of schooling, more likely to volunteer in schools, and assisted children with homework (Brizius & Foster, 1993, p. 31; Seaman, 1992, pp. 77-78).

In 1988, Federal Legislation enacted the Hawkins-Stafford Elementary and Secondary Education Improvement Act (Brizius & Foster, 1993). The goal of this federal program, which was largely attributed to Congressman Goodling, was to integrate early childhood education with

adult education in low-literate families to improve educational opportunities. Even Start Family Literacy identifies four components to its program. The components are as follows:

- “1. Family Literacy Programs provide developmental experiences for young children.
2. Family Literacy Programs provide basic skills instruction to the children's parents or primary care giver.
3. Family Literacy Programs work with parents and children together, helping them to share in the learning experiences.
4. Family Literacy Programs bring parents together in peer support groups to share experiences and overcome obstacles of family learning.” (Brizius & Foster, 1993, p. 15).

By 1989, discretionary grants averaging \$200,000 per project were distributed for Even Start projects all over the United States (Brizius & Foster, 1993). In 1991, the National Literacy Act of 1991 amended the Even Start Act to change its name to Even Start Family Literacy Program. This act established a minimum of \$75,000 per awarded grant and enabled the parent and child to remain in Even Start until the last of the two are ineligible. The National Literacy Act also allowed for 2% of funds to be used for technical assistance and evaluation which can be used to document program effectiveness.

By 1992, over 240 grants had been awarded and over 9,000 families served (Brizius & Foster, 1993). Even Start funding shifted from the federal level to the state level with funding reaching a national high of \$50 million. School districts across the United States had taken an active part in family literacy as they received grants and developed their own, unique family literacy project. By 1994, the number of Even Start Family Literacy Projects rose to 476 serving over 28,500 families.

In 1994, the Even Start Family Literacy Act was once again amended as Congress passed the National Literacy Act (Public Law 102-73) which re-authorized the Even Start program through the Improving America's Schools Act as Part B of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). This act involved the aforementioned four components but stressed collaborative efforts where Even Start is to bridge community resources to provide services for the Nation's low-income families. The goals of Even Start changed slightly but

there was a continued focus on parent and child as a family unit. The goals of the Even Start project were to help parents improve literacy and basic skills, help parents become full partners in their child's education, and to help children reach their full potential as learners (Tao, 1997). Such goals acknowledge that there are social barriers and structural obstacles which prohibit these families from experiencing success. Such is the result of the cultural capital to which the parent is exposed.

The 1994-95 requirements for family qualification stated that a family must have a parent who is eligible to receive adult education programs under the Adult Education Act and a child younger than eight years of age. Teen parents who were within the state's compulsory school age range (under age 16) became eligible for Even Start services in 1995.

The second national evaluation of the Even Start Family Literacy Program was published in January of 1997. Major findings supported the success of Even Start Family Literacy. As Tao (January 1997) cited, the following were key findings for Even Start projects across the United States:

- *39% of Even Start families are headed by single parents.
- *Even Start families have an average of 5 family members in the household.
- *The average age of the children participating in Even Start is 4.4 years of age.
- *Even Start parents are mostly in their 20's and 30's with the average age of 29
- *80% of Even Start families have annual incomes less than \$15,000; 40% of the Families have annual incomes less than \$6,000.
- *47% of the Even Start families report government assistance as their primary source of income.
- *Even Start children gained one standard deviation on the Preschool Inventory which measures school readiness.
- *Even Start children gained one standard deviation in the auditory comprehension and expressive communication modules of the Preschool Language Scale. At the time of pre-test, Even Start children were reported to be 6 months below their expected age levels. At posttest, this negative difference had been reduced by half.

***Even Start adults raised their basic skill level from one quarter to one half a standard deviation; 50% of the adults gained two grade levels on standardized tests; 25% of the adults gained three grade levels from pretest to posttest on standardized tests.**

***8% of Even Start parents received a GED. Although this figure may seem low, consideration must be given to the fact that many of these parents enter the program unable to read.**

The "National Evaluation of the Even Start Family Literacy Program" (Tao, January 1997) holds a promise for Family Literacy Programs. The results show that the concept of family literacy is working and helping to break the chain of poverty and illiteracy by overcoming the social constraints placed on these individuals through social stratification. Family Literacy Programs help to introduce different types of cultural capital into the existing cultural capital of the families served. Family Literacy Programs also help low-literate individuals to form networks through which information can be accessed.

Revisions were made in the data collection process for the section National Evaluation. The revisions incorporate more in-depth data collection on adults' and children's academic progress, as well as, quality of living and home environment. This revision was implemented during the data collection for the 1998 fiscal year. The third evaluation should provide longitudinal data which the United States Department of Education can use to track the success of the project, understand the outcomes of Even Start, and, from this data, recommend policy to state and local officials. (Tao, October 1997).

The review of literature in this chapter supports the need for study of Family Literacy Programs, as these programs are growing by successful numbers (Tao, October 1997). Families Literacy Programs serve low-literate, low-income parents and their children who are deemed to be at high-risk of academic failure. Parents choose to participate in Family Literacy Programs, although research has suggested that these parents tend to stay uninvolved in the education of their child. A study of high participation parent's cultural capital in comparison to the cultural capital of parents who choose not to participate may lead to an understanding of the similarities and differences, if any, which exists between these two groups of parents. Such an

understanding may allow the identification of factors within one's cultural capital which may propel him/her to participate in a Family Literacy Program. Chapter 3 will lists and discuss the Hypotheses and Study Questions which guided this study's attempt to identify why parents choose to participate in a Family Literacy Program.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter lists the Hypotheses and Study Questions, explain the design of the study, discuss the sampling procedure, and describe the instrumentation, procedures and data analysis for the quantitative and qualitative study.

Hypotheses and Study Questions

The following Hypotheses and Study Questions were generated to guide the data collection for this study. Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected.

Hypotheses for Quantitative Study

1. Low-literate parents who have high participation rates in a Family Literacy Program will have more favorable perceptions of themselves as being a teacher of their child when compared to low-literate parents who have low participation rates.
2. Low-literate parents who have high participation rates in a Family Literacy Program will have more favorable attitudes and beliefs regarding their children when compared to low-literate parents who have low participation.
3. Preschool children with high parental participation rates will show significant gains between pretest and posttest scores on the Early Learning Level Checklist.

Study Questions for Qualitative Study

1. What choices and opportunities to initiate activities do low-literate parents give their children in a Family Literacy Program preschool setting?
2. What activities do high-participating, low-literate parents report as being related to their children's education as opposed to low-participating, low literate parents?
3. What activities do teachers in Family Literacy Programs report as effective parental practices in children's education?

4. Is there a difference in the availability and use of educational materials in the home of high-participating, low-literate parents and that of low-participating, low-literate parents?
5. Do low-literate, high-participating parents hold different present and future educational expectations for themselves than those of low-literate, low-participating parents?
6. Do low-literate, high-participating parents hold different present and future educational expectations for their children than that of low-literate, low-participating parents?

Design of the Study

The Hypotheses and Study Questions that guided the data collection in this study dictated a parallel mixed model study with a dominant-less dominant design for both qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis (see Table 3.1) (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998).

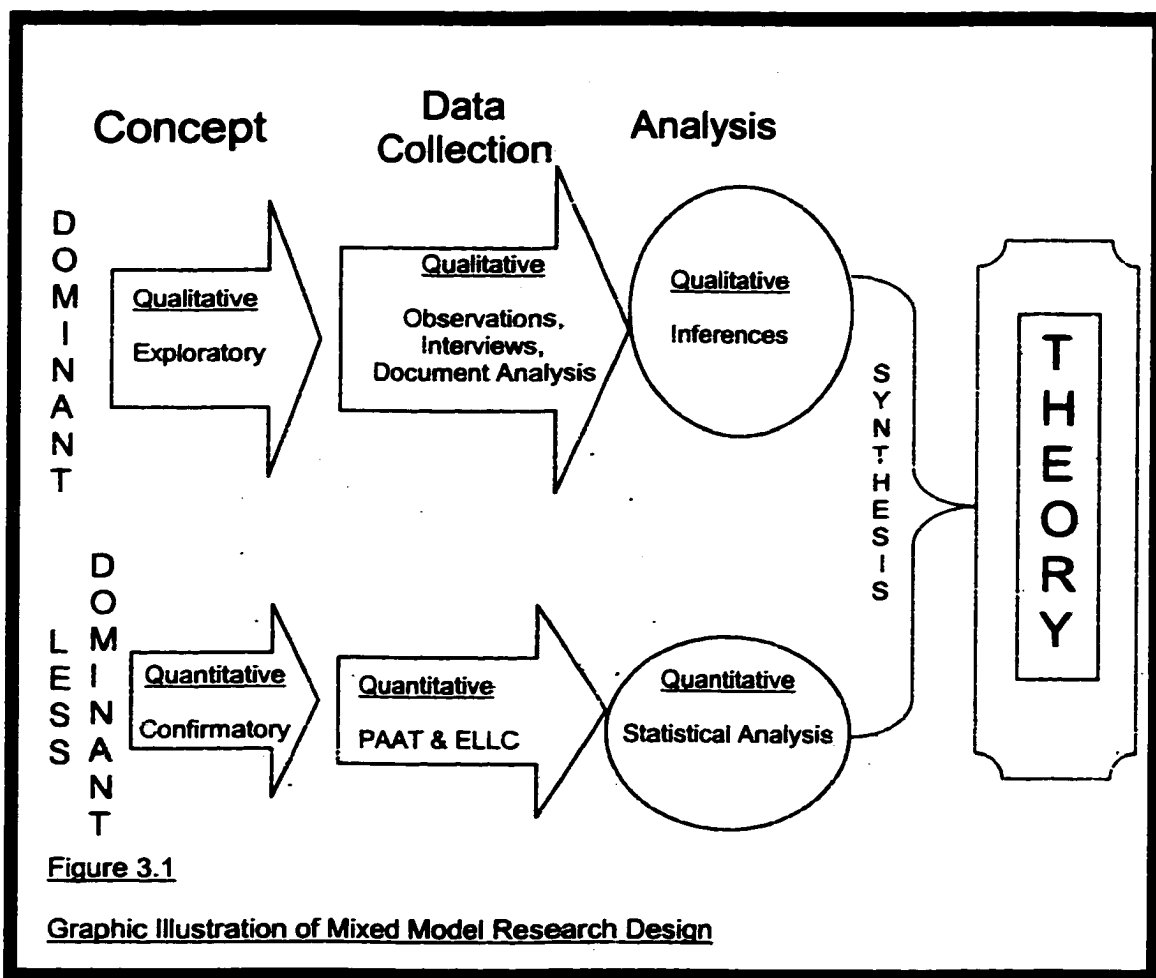
Table 3.1

Summary of Hypotheses, Study Questions, Data Source and Data Analysis

<u>Hypothesis</u>	<u>Study Questions</u>	<u>Data Source</u>	<u>Data Analysis</u>
1		PAAT	MANOVA
2		PAAT	MANOVA
3		ELLC	Paired-Samples T-Test
	1	Classroom Observations	Constant Comparative Developmental Research Sequence (DRS)
	2	Parent Personal Interviews	Constant Comparative
	3	Teacher Personal Interviews	Constant Comparative
	4	Parent Personal Interviews	Constant Comparative
	5	Parent Personal Interviews Document Analysis	Constant Comparative
	6	Parent Personal Interviews Document Analysis	Constant Comparative

The Study Questions led to qualitative data collection techniques consisting of classroom observations, personal interviews, focus group interviews, and document analysis. Data collection for the quantitative hypotheses, however, utilized the "Parent's As A Teacher" Inventory (Strom, 1995) and the "Early Learning Level Checklist" (see Appendix A), which are both quantitative instruments. Each instrument will be discussed later in this chapter.

This study was a parallel mixed model since both the quantitative and qualitative data were collected simultaneously. Data analyses also occurred simultaneously; however, the qualitative portion of the study generated more information than the quantitative portion (see Figure 3.1). A theory was derived from the synthesis of qualitative and quantitative information.



Sample

Characteristics of the Site

The Hypothesis and Study Questions for this study called for a specifically designated population consisting of low-literate parents participating in a Family Literacy Program. Convenience sampling was used in the selection of a large, urban, public school system in South Louisiana as the study site. Probability sampling techniques were not appropriate to obtain the more specific sample needed; therefore, a non-probability or purposive sample was chosen. More specifically, the technique "sampling for homogeneity" was used to select the aforementioned Title I, Family Literacy Program housed within a large, urban public school system.

"Sampling for homogeneity" allows for the selection of individuals who have the same quality or magnitude of a specific attribute (Patton, 1990). Since the Hypotheses and Study Questions in this study designated a specific population, "sampling for homogeneity" allowed for the selection of individuals who were considered to be low-literate as evidenced by entrance test scores below the ninth grade level in reading comprehension and/or mathematical computation. The selection of the Title I Family Literacy Program also ensured that the individuals in the sample had similar levels of income and resided in similar housing communities.

The Boulder Parish, Title I, Family Literacy Program provided the target population. Boulder's Family Literacy Program services families in Public Housing and Section 8 Housing. This population is characterized by low-income, predominantly single, female-headed households. The mission statement of the Family Literacy Program is "families enrolled in the Family Literacy Program will develop life-long learning skills and values to function effectively in society." The family literacy model requires parental participation in order for the child to receive preschool services.

In order to qualify for Boulder's Family Literacy Program, parents must be in need, be willing to participate in literacy services, and have a preschool age (2 to 5) child. Parents must attend a literacy class, often referred to as General Education Development (GED) since many of these parents do not have a high school diploma. Some parents possess a high school

diploma but have tested below the ninth grade in reading comprehension and mathematical computation and complete lessons to increase these skills. Parents worked on the computers with software for literacy improvement (reading and mathematical programs), as well as job skills programs, such as typing. Parents also receive parenting classes as part of the literacy component where information on child development and other parental practices are discussed. While parents are in literacy classes, children attend preschool. Parents and children engage weekly in activities called PACT (parent and child together) time. Boulder's Family Literacy Program focuses on bringing parents and children together to work for the education of both.

Boulder's Family Literacy Program services a total of nine low-income housing community sites, each of which are either Public Housing or Section 8 Housing. Public Housing is managed through the State of Louisiana Department of Housing. Individuals with low to no income can qualify for housing through this program after completing an interview with Department of Housing personnel. Such housing is sometimes at no monthly charge if the individual has no income, but there may be a charge for monthly rent if the individual has an income. The monthly rent charge is proportional to the income. Since the demand for Public Housing is high and the availability of facilities low, individuals are often placed on a waiting list for available housing units.

Section 8 Housing is privately owned and managed. In order to qualify for Section 8 Housing, an individual must have some type of income, whether from employment, welfare, child support, family contributions or other sources. Individuals are interviewed by the manager of the site where the application for housing is placed. It is left to the manager's discretion whether to rent the applicant a housing unit. The applicant's monthly rental charge for the housing unit is proportionate to the income of the individual. The Section 8 Housing manager applies to the Housing of Urban Development (HUD) for reimbursement of the remainder of the monthly rental charge.

The Sampling Design

The sampling design for the sites in this study initially consisted of selecting two Public Housing sites and two Section 8 Housing sites from the Boulder Family Literacy Program. This

design allows for a comparison of parents and children from somewhat dissimilar socio-economic status levels. This increases the generalizability of the research and provides for potential contrasts among the sites.

The sample for this study was chosen after Pilot Study I (see Appendix D) was completed in the Spring of 1998. Site observations and examination of attendance logs were conducted for all nine sites. Of the nine sites, four sites were chosen as target sites for further examination in this study. Central Village and Terrace Heights were chosen due to the large number of parents participating in Boulder Family Literacy. Both sites are Public Housing facilities where the managers were active in the publicity and recruitment for participants in the Boulder Family Literacy Program in school year 1997-98.

Through document analysis in Pilot Study I, it was noted that the goals of parents in Public Housing facilities differed from the goals of parents in Section 8 Housing. Upon registering for the Family Literacy Program, parents complete an entrance form where they list goals for themselves and their children. The goals typically listed by parents in Section 8 Housing stated an educational goal, such as, "to get my GED", and also listed a result of obtaining the first goal, such as, "to get a job as a secretary." Parents of Public Housing typically only listed an educational goal. This contrast in goals lead to the selection of two Section 8 Housing communities, Parkplace and Steeple Chase. Parkplace had numerous parents with regular attendance in the Boulder Family Literacy Program. Parkplace's manager was also very active in the recruitment of parents into the Family Literacy Program.

Steeple Chase was not part of the original nine sites served by Boulder Family Literacy in school year 1997-98. Steeple Chase was added to the Boulder Family Literacy Program at the request of the manager. Steeple Chase was chosen for this study because it was a Section 8 Housing facility resulting in a sample design consisting of two Public Housing units and two Section 8 Housing facilities. Steeple Chase was also chosen after an initial organizational meeting was held at the site that was attended by 42 adult residents. Thus, the interest level and potential participation at this site was high.

The target population of parents at the four sites was divided into three groups based on participation: high-participation, moderate-participation, and low-participation. High-participation parents were parents with 50% attendance from the beginning of the program in September to the last day before the holidays in December. The moderate-participation group consisted of parents who attended between 49% and 11% of the total hours, and the low-participation group consisted of parents who expressed an interest in the program by attending an orientation meeting but, subsequently attended between 10% and 0% of the total hours. The total hours differed for each of the four sites based on the number of days scheduled. Only high and low participation parents were included in the study sample.

From the above mentioned three groups of participating parents, the original intent of this study was to draw a random sample of high-participation and low-participation parents who had volunteered for the quantitative data collection. However, due to low numbers of parents participating at each site, random sampling was not possible. In its place, all parents with a 50% or higher attendance rate were included in the high-participation group. This resulted in a high-participation group that was self-selected yielding a sample of 6 at Terrace Heights, 5 at Central Village, 7 at Steeple Chase, and 6 at Parkplace for a total of 24 parents in the high-participation sample (see Table 3.2).

The low-participation sample of parents was obtained through a combination of random sampling and chain sampling where contact was made with the first parent randomly chosen from a recruitment list from each of the four sites. This parent, in some cases, would refer to another parent who was not participating in the Family Literacy Program. This type of chain sampling occurred at all four sites. When a parent would not refer another parent, a parent was again randomly chosen from the recruitment list. This type of sampling procedure was necessary due to the difficulty of contacting non-participating or low-participating parents. Many of these parents did not have a telephone or were reluctant to be interviewed. By one parent referring another, the referred parent accepted the interview where they may have otherwise not done so. This type of sampling procedure yielded 10 parents at Terrace Heights, 6 parents at

Central Village, 7 parents at Steeple Chase, and 9 parents at Parkplace for a total of 32 parents in the low-participation group (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2					
Summary of Sampling Procedures					
Phase of Study	Sampling Technique	Number of Participants			Sites
		Children	Parents	Staff	
Pilot I	homogeneity	135	135	9	
Pilot II	homogeneity	not applicable			4
Quantitative Study					
ELLC	volunteer	27			4
PAAT	volunteer, random total population & chain				
High-Participation Parents			24		4
Low-Participation Parents			32		4
Total Quantitative Participants		27	56		4
Qualitative Study					
Classroom Observations	volunteer (ea. site)	27	26		4
Document Analysis	volunteer (ea. site)		26		4
Individual Parent Interviews	random volunteer				
High-Participation Parents			20		4
Low-Participation Parents			20		4
Total		27	46		4
Parent Focus Group Interviews	volunteer sample				
High-Participation Parents			16 (4 at each site)		4
Low-Participation Parents			3		1
Total			19		4
Staff Focus Group	total population			8	4
Total Qualitative Participants		27	46	8	4

Five parents from the high-participation and low-participating groups at each of the four sites were randomly selected to complete an individual interview (see Table 3.3). This resulted in a total of 40 individual interviews (20 individual interviews for the high-participation group and 20 individual interviews for the low-participation group). There was one exception to the random selection of the high-participation group at Central Village where there were only 5 parents. Thus, all 5 parents were selected.

Seven interviews were telephone interviews since the parent had moved out of the housing community or had obtained employment and was more convenient for the parent to complete the interview on the telephone. All eight of the family literacy staff members were also interviewed individually.

Table 3.3

Individual Parent Interviews

Parent Participation Level:	Type of Interview			
	Person-to-Person		Telephone	
	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>
Parkplace	3	4	2	1
Central Village	4	5	1	0
Terrace Heights	5	5	0	0
Steeple Chase	4	3	1	2

Six focus group interviews were held (see Table 3.2). Four of the focus group interviews were held with high-participation parents at each of the four sites. Each focus group interview consisted of 4 parents. The fifth focus group interview was held at Parkplace with 3 low-participation parents attending. The sixth focus group interviews consisted of the 8 family literacy staff members.

Children were selected according to their parent's participation. In order for a child to be included in the preschool component, the parent must have participated in the adult literacy component of Boulder Family Literacy.

Instrumentation

Quantitative Instrumentation

Data collection for the quantitative part of this study began in August 1998. The Boulder Family Literacy staff administered the Early Learning Level Checklist to obtain pretest scores for children enrolled in the program. The administration of the Early Learning Level Checklist is an established procedure of the Boulder Family Literacy Program and has been in place since the

origination of the Family Literacy Program in 1990. The Early Learning Level Checklist was administered by Boulder Family Literacy staff again in May of 1999 as a posttest.

Data Collection for hypothesis 1 and 2 was conducted by having each parent complete a Parent As A Teacher (PAAT) (Strom, 1995) inventory. This instrument was not part of the Boulder Family Literacy Program and was administered by the researcher and Boulder Family Literacy staff. When necessary, due to the inability of the parent to read, the parent completed the PAAT survey as it was read orally to them. This survey collected data on parental perceptions of themselves as teachers of their children, as well as parental attitudes and beliefs concerning their children.

All parents were read the instructions provided in the PAAT inventory as stated by Scholastic Services: "You will be reading some statements about your child. For each statement, circle only one answer. If there is no doubt in your mind about the statement, circle either STRONG YES or STRONG NO. Otherwise, circle either YES or NO. Continue until you have answered all fifty statements. Take your time, this is not a test." Parents were asked if they had additional questions. Parents were also told they could stop the survey at any time to ask questions.

Early Learning Level Checklist (ELLC, see Appendix A). The Early Learning Level Checklist is a locally developed assessment instrument for children ages 2 to 5. Boulder Parish assembled a committee of public and private preschool teachers, university personnel, supervisors, community members, and parents during the Fall of 1995. This committee was assigned the task of developing an assessment instrument to be uniformly utilized throughout the parish's public educational system in early childhood programs. The committee also utilized the Louisiana Department of Education's "benchmarks" of progress for children in the early learning environment. Such a procedure ensured content validity of the instrument.

The committee met several times throughout the Fall of 1995 analyzing and categorizing possible indicators for children's performance. For Spring of 1996, the first draft of this instrument was distributed among Boulder Parish's public school early learning teachers and interested teachers from private schools. The committee revised the instrument based on

suggestions from this pilot study. This instrument has been utilized for the past two years in Boulder Parish's early learning classrooms. To date, the validity and reliability of the instrument has not been established. However, two years of data collection from this instrument in the Boulder Parish Family Literacy Program indicates significant pre-post gains, which indicates the instrument is assessing student performance.

According to the introductory section of the instrument, the Early Learning Level Checklist functions as: an assessment instrument, an instructional guide with objectives stated in functional and measurable terms, a record-keeping system, a tool for developing and communicating an individualized education program, and a resource for training parents and professionals in child growth and development. The ELLC has incorporated child growth and development into an early childhood curriculum and assessment.

The Early Learning Level Checklist consists of five subcategories. These categories are socio-emotional development, cognitive development (pre-reading), pre-math development, physical development and emerging science. Each subcategory consists of developmental activities the child must perform. The teacher, or person giving the assessment, then indicates if the child has mastery of that indicator or partial knowledge of the indicator. Each indicator has an acceptable performance criterion for the child to be considered to have mastery of the skill. If the child does not master a skill, he is marked as having partial knowledge. Children are only assessed on indicators appropriate for their age.

Subcategories have different numbers of indicators. Socio-emotional development has 5 indicators, cognitive development has 10 indicators, pre-math has 7 indicators; physical development has 5 indicators, and emerging science has 3 indicators.

Parent As A Teacher Inventory (PAAT). PAAT is published by Scholastic Testing Services Inc., in Bensenville, Illinois (Strom, 1995). It is designed to assess individual parental expectations of children and parental perceptions of themselves as teachers of their children. It is designed for parents of children ages 3 to 9. Copies of the PAAT are available to committee members on an "as needed" basis. The PAAT is copyrighted and the holder of the copyright does not allow publication in any format.

PAAT was developed based on literature on parental influence and school learning in early and middle childhood. The items are arranged in a manner which encourage parents to analyze their role in their child's education. Parents read 50 items and respond as to whether the statement is a "strong yes," "yes," "no," or "strong no." The responses are grouped into five subscales:

1 - Creativity - whether the parent accepts and encourages the child's

creativity. (items: 1, 6, 11, 16, 21, 26, 31, 36, 41, and 46)

2 - Frustration - whether parent demonstrates frustration with the child and the focus of that frustration. (items: 2, 7, 12, 17, 22, 27, 32, 37, 42, and 47)

3 - Control - whether parent needs to control child's behavior.

(items: 3, 8, 13, 18, 23, 28, 33, 38, 43, 48)

4 - Play - whether the parent understands the educational significance of a child's play.

(items: 4, 9, 14, 19, 24, 29, 34, 39, 44, 49)

5 - Teaching/Learning - whether the parent views himself as a teacher of his child.

(items: 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, 40, 45, 50)

The Research Division of Tucson, Arizona Public Schools provided the sample population to establish reliability of the instrument (Strom, 1995). The sample consisted of 124 low-income Hispanic, African American, and Native American parents of children ages 3 to 9. PAAT was administered to the 124 parents at the beginning of a family development intervention program. At the end of the program, seven months later, 88 of the 124 parents completed PAAT for a second time. Significant gains ($p < .05$) were shown on all five subscales. The total inventory also showed a significant gain ($p < .001$) which confirmed PAAT's feasibility as an evaluation tool. Overall alpha coefficients were high for the pretest (.76) and posttest (.81). Test-retest indicators ($r = .80$ to $.90$) have been documented for studies representing parents with diverse backgrounds (Strom, 1995).

The construct and criterion validity for the PAAT was established utilizing a sample of 40 female parents from low-income neighborhoods in Denver, Colorado (Strom, 1995). The study consisted of weekly home-visits over a six-month period. Home-visits were conducted by

paraprofessionals who represented the parent's peer group (resembling same income level and neighborhood type). Weekly home-visits consisted of a one-hour meeting between the parent and paraprofessional where the paraprofessional demonstrated activities parents could conduct with their child to improve verbal and problem-solving skills. The parent then conducted the activity with the child while the paraprofessional observed. The observation by the paraprofessional allowed for her to determine the consistency with which the parent duplicated the activity with the child.

Two sets of data consisting of paraprofessional reports on parent consistency in completing the activities with their child were collected in this process. The first set of data collection consisted of paraprofessional reports for the first through sixth weekly visit yielding 6 reports per parent. The second set of data consisted of paraprofessional reports after six months of weekly home visits. The two sets of data revealed that the level of agreement between parental expression and observed behavior through documentation reports from the paraprofessional was 75 to 85 percent, which indicated that the PAAT fulfilled its stated purposes.

Predictive validity was also established for PAAT. A study conducted by Slaughter and Strom (1978) yielded a significant correlation ($p < .05$) between PAAT scores of 124 racially mixed parents and the behavior of their youngsters as observed by an intervention team using Butler's (1965) "Evaluation Scale of Four- and Five-Year-Old Children."

A second study showed correspondingly higher children's pre-reading skills ($p < .01$) on the "Metropolitan Readiness Test" and their mother's PAAT scores on the subscales of Creativity, Play, and Teaching/Learning. This study also showed that parents with less need for control over their children, more positive feelings concerning their relationship with their child, and a better understanding of play had children who attained higher quantitative skills ($p < .05$) on the "Metropolitan Readiness Test."

Qualitative Instrumentation

Qualitative data collection began in October of 1998. Qualitative instrumentation consisted of classroom observations, parental and family literacy staff individual interviews, parental and family literacy staff focus groups, and document analysis.

Classroom Observation Instrumentation. According to Patton (1990), the purpose of observational data is to "describe the setting that was observed, the activities that took place in that setting, the people who participated in those activities, and the meanings of what was observed from the perspective of those observed." Patton (1990) states that observations have six advantages over quantitative data collection methods. First, observations yield a better understanding of the context in which the program operates leading to a more holistic perspective. Second, "firsthand experience" (p. 203) with the phenomena being observed allows for a more open, discovery oriented, inductive approach yielding possibly new perspectives of the program. Third, new concepts can be discovered which may escape a participant's view because such things are routine. A fresh look at a program allows for such subconscious routines to be discovered.

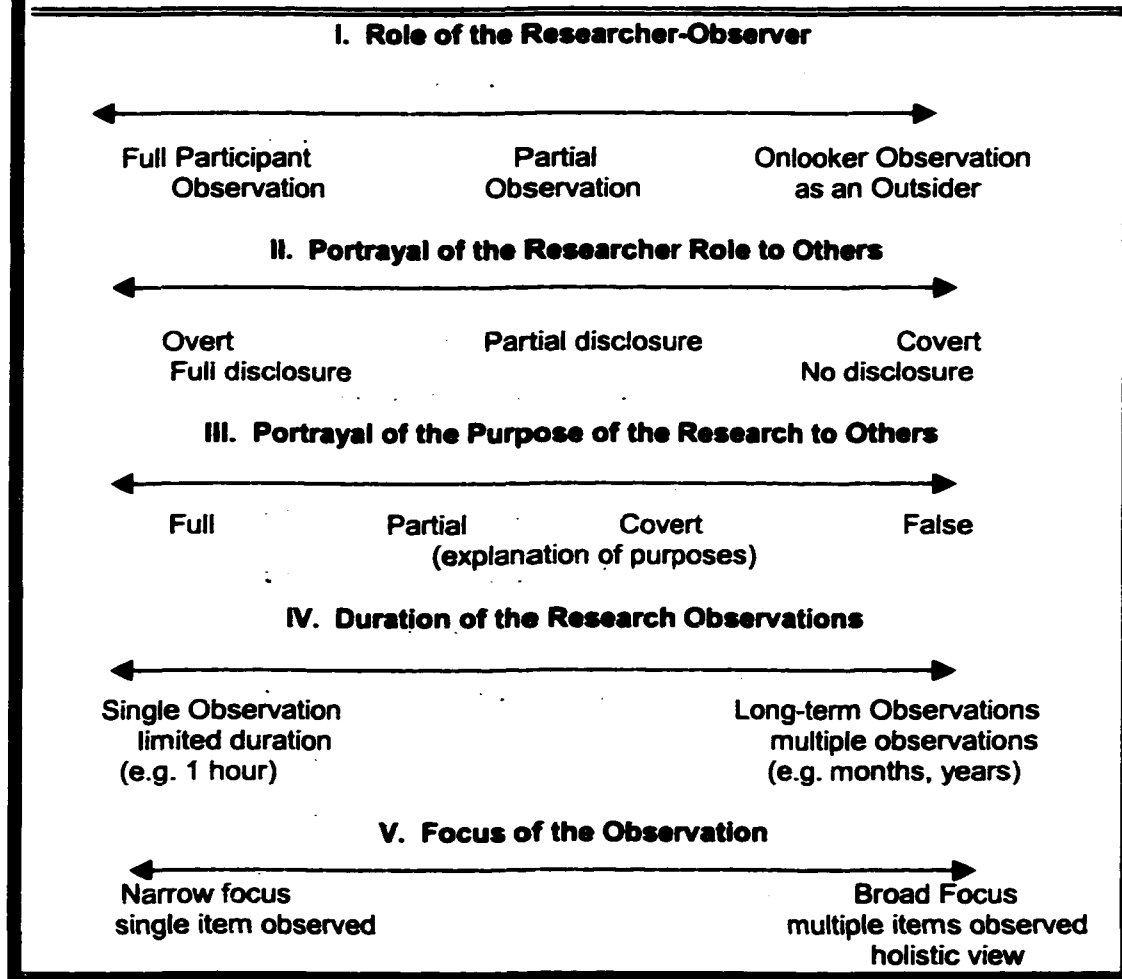
Fourth, information can be learned which may not be readily discovered in an interview. Participants and staff may be unwilling to talk of certain happenings but, through observations, these happenings are discovered. Fifth, observations yield data that move beyond the selective perceptions obtained through interviews. Interviews reveal the understandings of the person being interviewed. Observations allow for the understandings of an outside party (the observer) to be formed. Last, observations allow the observer to access and implement his personal knowledge in the understanding and interpreting of the observed phenomena.

Patton (1990) describes five dimensions of variations in approaches to observations (p. 217). These five dimensions run on a continuum as illustrated in Table 3.4. Classroom observations in this study were completed utilizing the five dimensions listed above. The role of the researcher (evaluator-observer) for Dimension I was that of researcher as participant. Participants were aware they were being observed but the researcher did not take a formal role

in the activities taking place. Dimension II, portrayal of the researcher's role to others, was closer to covert but not totally covert. Classroom observations allowed the researcher interactions between children and parents. In order to answer Study Question 1 of this study, it was imperative that parents display their "usual" interaction patterns with their children. There was a concern that if parents knew interaction patterns were being observed, the parents would change their behavior toward their children..

Table 3.4

Patton's (1990) Observation Dimensions



Dimension III, portrayal of the purpose of the research (evaluation) to others, involved partial explanation. The family literacy staff (teachers) was given access to the purposes, Hypothesis, and Study Questions regarding this research study except for Study Question 3.

Study Question 3 was withheld from the staff in an effort to avoid biased responses in the personal interviews.

Dimension IV, duration of the research (evaluation) observations was long-term with multiple observations spanning three months. Each of the four classrooms was observed for 4 days (differing days of the week) for a total of 16 days of classroom observations. Last, Dimension V, focus of observations, consisted of broad and narrow focuses. A broad focus was used during the initial observation of each classroom at each of the four sites. This allowed for a holistic view, which generated additional questions for observations. This procedure led to a narrow focus for observations, which focused on Parent and Child Time in the classroom.

Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) state that a major difficulty in collecting information from participants is "participant reactivity." Participant reactivity occurs when the participant knows he is being observed and may possibly change his behavior or response. Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) list five roles a participant may take: good or helpful participant, apprehensive participant, faithful or honest participant, suspicious participant, and/or the antagonistic participant. In order to reduce the likelihood of these roles occurring and affecting data collection, the portrayal of the purpose of the research to others was partial explanations. This ensured informants did not change their answers to meet the purpose of the research.

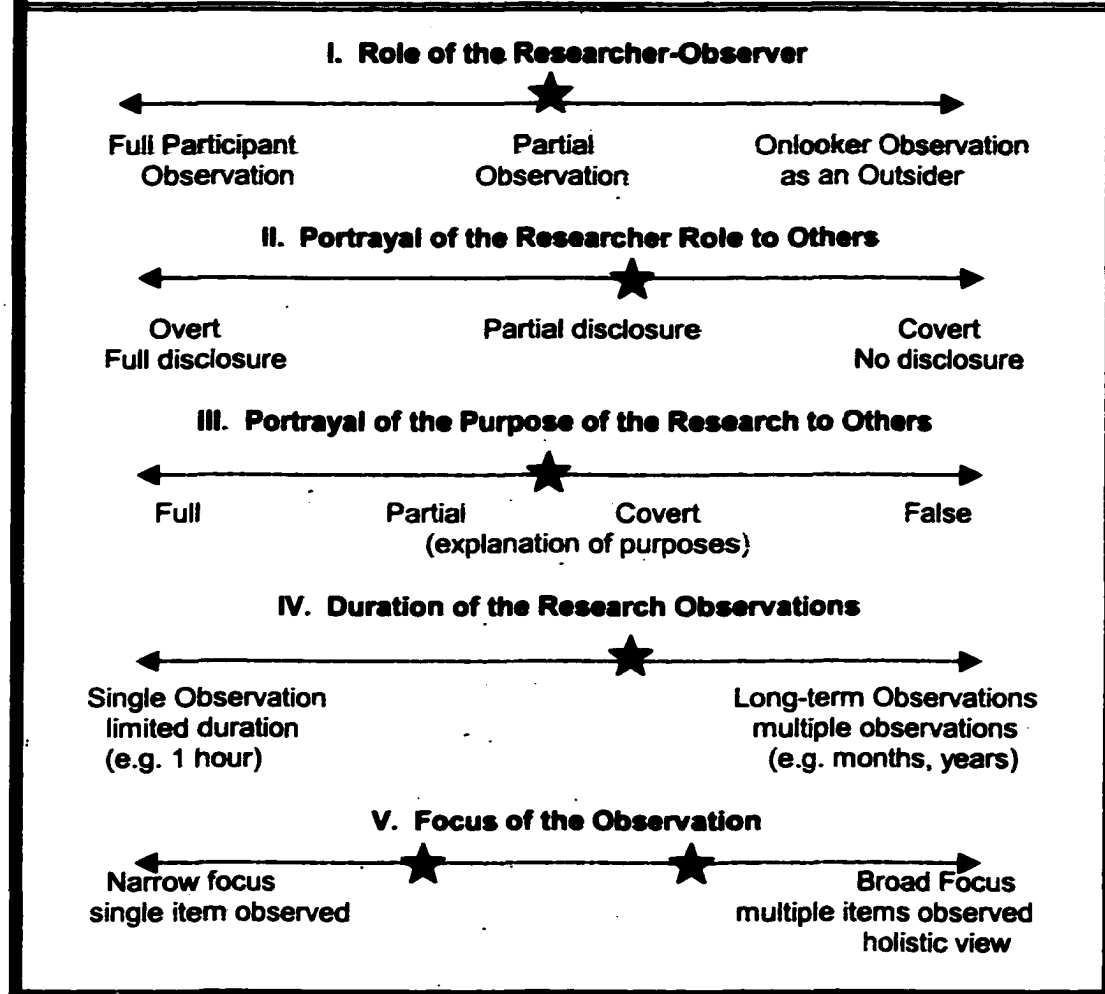
Thus, the Five Dimensions of Variations in Approaches to Observations (Patton, 1990) for this research study is illustrated in Table 3.5. The five dimensions displayed in Table 3.5 illustrate aspects of the trustworthiness of the classroom observations (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). Prolonged engagements, persistent observations, and thick descriptions are three of the 11 methods Tashakkori & Teddlie (1998) list for determining the trustworthiness of qualitative research results.

Prolonged engagement provides a scope for researchers to become aware of the multiple contextual factors and multiple perspectives which participants or the observational setting may hold. The classroom observations performed in this study consisted of 4 days of observation at each of the four sites for a total of 16 days of observation. The observations were conducted on different days of the week to capture any routines and other factors that may

affect data outcomes. The observations were conducted over the course of three months, which added to the credibility of the collected data through prolonged engagement (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998).

Table 3.5

Patton's Observational Dimensions as Utilized in Study



Persistent observations provided "depth" in identifying characteristics of the classroom and parent-child interactions, which were relevant to Study Question 1. Persistent observations helped to reveal activity relevant to the quality of inferences and conclusions made in this study.

Thick descriptions provide evidence for the transferability of interpretations and conclusions of this study. Thick descriptions provide for the transferability of inferences made in this study to other populations, since thick descriptions provide detailed accounts of what was

seen, heard, and experienced. Activities are documented using descriptions, which allow for others to get a vivid picture of what was occurring. Thus, other researchers can interpret and draw conclusions based on information provided as to the transferability of interpretations to other similar settings.

Tashakkori & Teddlie (1998) cite the work of Krathwohl (1993) who lists six judgments to determine the validity of qualitative data. The six judgments are explanation credibility, translation fidelity, demonstrated results, rival explanations, credible results, and inferential consistency audit. Of these six judgments, the classroom observations demonstrate explanation credibility, translation fidelity, demonstrated results, and inferential consistency audit.

Explanation credibility is found in the cultural capital theory presented as the theoretical framework for this study. Low-literate, high-participation parents possess differing degrees and amounts of cultural capital than that of low-literate, low-participating parents. It is the difference in this cultural capital, which prompts participation in a Family Literacy Program, as well as the perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes.

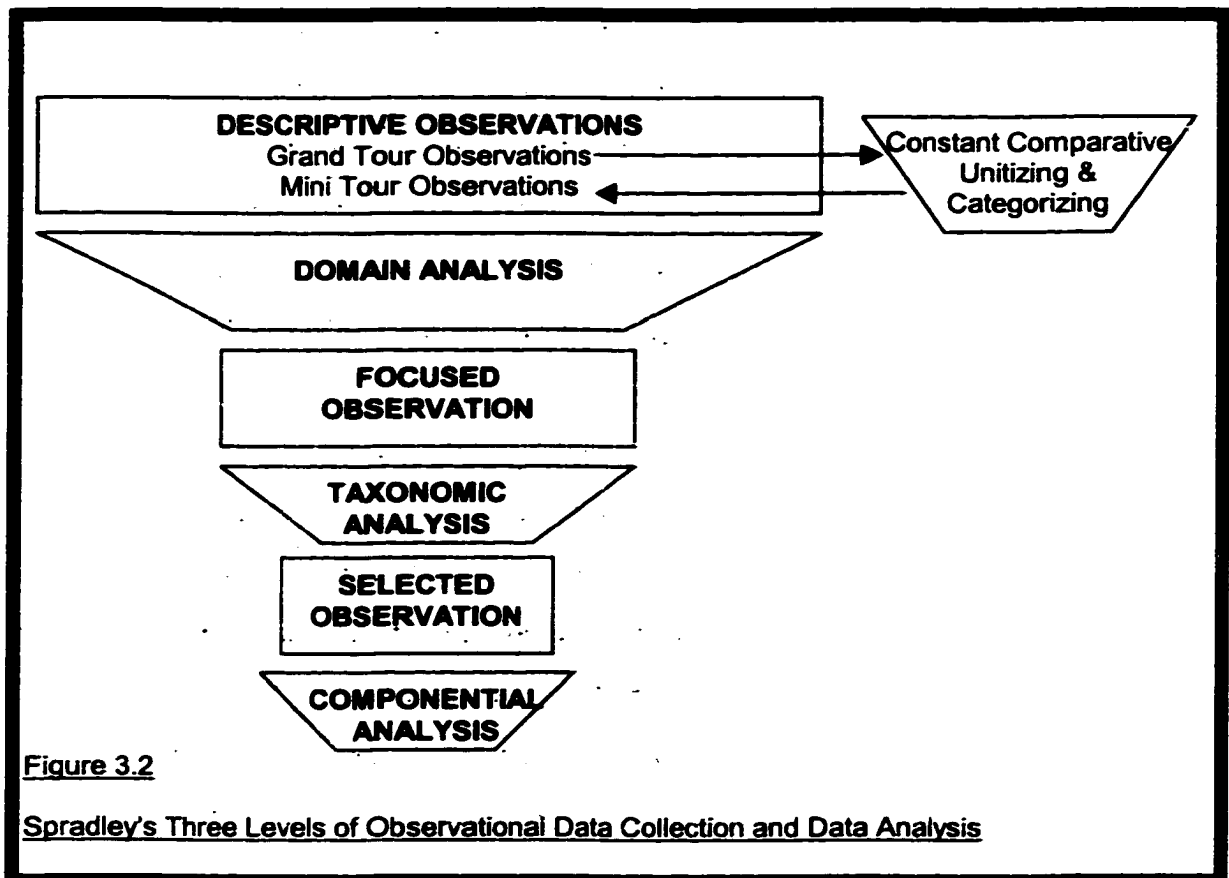
Translation fidelity is the degree to which the conceptual framework of a study is translated into the design of the study. Classroom observations were incorporated into the conceptual framework of this study for the purposes of gathering data for Study Question 1. Sampling techniques in this study also ensured the desired population was obtained for study. The use of sampling for homogeneity ensured the background variables of parents (income level, education level, home environment) were consistent. Thus, differences in behavior patterns observed in the classroom can be attributed to variables other than those controlled by sampling.

Demonstrated results provided for expected outcomes based on the literature review, theoretical framework, and hypotheses drawn for this study. It was expected that results would be consistent with the predicted outcomes.

Inferential consistency audit compares obtained data and information with the interpretations drawn utilizing this data and information. Examination of the data obtained from

the classroom observations yielded no contradictory information confirming inferential consistency.

Classroom observations consisted of Spradley's (1980) three levels of data collection and three levels of data analysis (see Figure 3.2). Spradley's three levels of data collection consisted of descriptive observations, focused observations, and selective observations. Furthermore, the descriptive observations included Grand Tour classroom observations and Mini Tour classroom observations.



Grand Tour observations were conducted utilizing a protocol that guided and organized data collection. This protocol was developed utilizing Spradley's (1980) identification of nine features which occur in social situations: space, actor, activity, object, act, event, time, goal, and feeling (p. 78). A diagram of the classroom was also utilized, along with the question protocol, so that activities could be documented where they occurred.

Grand Tour observations were analyzed utilizing the constant comparative method of unitizing and categorizing (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Results from the constant comparative

method, combined with those from Spradley's "Descriptive Question Matrix" (Spradley, 1980, pp. 82-83), were used to develop the Mini Tour observations protocol which focused on more specific information than the Grand Tour observations protocol. Mini Tour observational data was analyzed utilizing domain analysis (described later in this chapter).

The next level of observations was the Focused Observations. The Focused Observations were guided by theoretical considerations and an attempt to organize domains which had emerged during the previous analysis. The Focused Observations were guided by "structural questions" (Spradley, 1980, pp. 106) concerning several domains. Structural questions explore further the semantic relationships between domains. Focused Observational data was analyzed through taxonomic analysis (discussed later in this chapter).

The last level of observations was the Selected Observations. Selected Observations focused on questions which compared and contrasted domains. Selected Observational data was analyzed through componential analysis (described later in this chapter).

Parental and Family Literacy Staff Individual Interview Instrumentation.

Classroom observations and document analysis were performed before interviews were conducted with 40 parents and 8 family literacy staff. The data analysis from the observation and document analysis were used to develop the protocol for the individual interviews with parents.

Parental individual interviews consisted of three types of questions: standardized open-ended interview questions, closed-fixed response interviews questions, and interview guide approach questions (see Appendix B). Two interview guide questions differed depending on whether the parent was a high-participation or low-participation parent. A total of 20 parental personal interviews were conducted (10 interviews with high-participation parents; 10 interviews with low participation parents). Parental interviews ranged from 1 hour to 1 hour and thirty minutes. Responses to interview questions were recorded on the interview protocol.

The standardized open-ended interview questions were formulated from previous data collection and analysis (see Appendix A, questions 1b, 4b, 5b, 6b 9b, 10b, 11, 13, 17, and 18). The exact wording and sequencing of the questions were determined before the parental

interview. This process allowed all informants to be asked the same set of open-ended questions in the same sequence to increase the comparability of responses. Through the utilization of standardized open-ended interviews, interviewer effects and bias were reduced.

Closed, fixed-response interview questions were specifically generated from previously collected data in classroom observations and document analysis. This part of the interview allowed for informants to give numeric responses which could be directly compared with responses from other respondents (see Appendix A, questions 1a, 2, 3, 4a, 5a, 6a, 7, 8, 9a, 10a, 12, 14, 15 and 16).

The last part of the interview involved utilizing the interview guide approach. This part of the interview consisted of a list of questions which were generated from previously gathered data. It allowed for a more conversational approach where the informant could express ideas and views, however the guide ensured that all informants answered questions regarding the same topics. The outline of topics increased the comprehensiveness of the data (see Appendix B, Questions 19 and 20).

Family literacy staff individual interviews consisted of open-ended questions (see Table 3.6). Family literacy staff were interviewed individually and asked not to share the contents of the interview questions with other staff members until after all family literacy staff had been interviewed. Family literacy staff members were also not included in the interview focus groups with parents. These precautions ensured that family literacy staff members would not be influenced by responses given by other family literacy staff or by responses of parents. This allowed each family literacy staff member to give his or her unbiased opinions.

Table 3.6

Family Literacy Staff Interview Protocol

1. What activities do you think parents can do with their children to ready them for school or help them in school?
2. What resources or information sources do the parents have in the area?
3. To which of these do they have access? What limits their access, if any? If they have access and don't take advantage of the information source, why do you think this is so?
4. Define parental involvement:
5. Other Comments:

Parental and Family Literacy Staff Focus Group Interview Instrumentation. A

focus group interview, according to Patton (1990), is "an interview with a small group of people on a specific topic" (p. 335). Six focus group interviews were held. The first four focus group interviews were conducted with high-participation parents at each of the four sites. The fifth focus group was held with low-participation parents at Parkplace. Parents in the low-participation category were invited to participate in a focus group interview at the other three sites but did not attend the group. Therefore, data was collected at one site for low-participation parents. All five of the focus groups had 4 members in attendance. The sixth individual focus group interview was held with family literacy staff and had all 8 family literacy staff members present (see Table 3.7).

Table 3.7

Focus Group Interviews: Number of Participants

	Number of High-Participation Parents	Number of Low-Participation Parents	Other
Parkplace	4	3	
Central Village	4	0	
Steeple Chase	4	0	
Terrace Heights	4	0	
Family Literacy Staff			8

Low participation in focus groups by members of the low-participation parent group was anticipated. Since these parents did not engage in the Family Literacy Program on a regular basis, then it was unlikely that they would come to the focus group regarding the program. Extra effort was taken to recruit these low-participation parents with additional phone calls and door-to-door visits. However, many did not attend the focus group interview meetings.

Each high-participation parental focus group interview of parents consisted of a homogeneous group of 4 parents in terms of literacy, economic level, and participation-level. The low-participation focus group consisted of 3 parents. During the focus group interview, parents were asked to reflect on a set of predetermined questions which were generated from site observations, document analysis, and personal interviews (see Table 3.7). Focus group

interviewing allowed for participants to hear other participants' responses and vice versa. This allowed for participants to consider their own views in the context of the views of other participants. A large tablet was placed in the center of the table, and the 4 parents each had a marker. As the researcher asked the questions, parents were invited to write responses to the questions on the tablet. Parents were also asked to state their answers aloud, and the researcher recorded the answers on the tablet.

The focus group interviews occurred after the classroom observations, document analysis and individual interviews with parents. Thus, the five focus group interviews served as a check for the credibility of previously gathered data. It also helped to establish the reliability of participant responses. The protocol for the focus group was determined in advance from information gleaned from previously collected data (see Table 3.8).

Table 3.8

Parental Focus Group Interview Protocol

High-Participation Parents:

1. Why do you participate in the Family Literacy Program?
2. What did you think/ how were you feeling the very first day you walked into the Family Literacy Program?
3. Why did you come back to the program?
4. How do you feel about the Family Literacy Program now? What keeps you coming back?
5. What do you think can be done to involve those parents who don't want to participate in family literacy but qualify for the program?
6. What is parental involvement?
7. Sociogram: The circle in the middle represents the Family Literacy Program. Draw a circle to represent yourself and connect it with a line to the center circle. List activities you are involved with outside of the Family Literacy Program. If anyone in the program also participates in that activity, draw a line from your circle to the other parent's circle.

Low-Participation Parents:

1. What is parental involvement?
2. Why do you choose not to participate in the Family Literacy Program?
3. What changes would have to occur for you to participate?
4. Sociogram: The circle in the middle represents the Family Literacy Program. Draw a circle to represent yourself and connect it with a line to the center circle. List activities in which are involved outside of the Family Literacy Program. If anyone in the program also participates in that activity, draw a line from your circle to the other parent's

During the previous individual interviews, parents were asked if they were interested in participating in the focus group at their family literacy site. Those individuals who stated they were interested were contacted by phone concerning the date, place, and time. A follow-up call was made the morning of the scheduled parental focus group interview to once again remind parents so that they could make arrangements to attend.

The focus group interview for the family literacy staff was held on a Friday afternoon when all 8 family literacy staff members could be present. A similar procedure to the one described above was utilized with a different focus group interview protocol (see Table 3.9). A tablet was placed in the center of the table. Each question was listed on a separate sheet. Staff members responded in writing and orally, and the researcher recorded the response on the tablet.

Table 3.9

Focus Group Interview Protocol for Family Literacy Staff

1. Why do parents participate in the Family Literacy Program?
2. What motivates a parent to come to the Family Literacy Program for the very first time?
3. What makes that parent continue to come back?
4. Why do you think some parents choose not to participate in the family literacy program?
5. What could be done to interest those parents in attending?
6. Why do you choose to work in a Family Literacy Program?
7. Sociogram: The circle in the middle represents the Family Literacy Program. Draw a circle to represent yourself and connect it with a line to the center circle. List activities you are involved with outside of the Family Literacy Program. If anyone in the program also participates in that activity, draw a line from that person to that activity.

The focus groups were also the last form of data collection. By this time, the researcher was developing a theory of parental involvement. The focus groups allowed the researcher an opportunity to clarify concepts that emerged during the previous stages of data collection. They also allowed the researcher an opportunity to explore concepts related to the developing theory.

Document Analysis Instrumentation. Patton (1990) stated that program documents provide a "rich source of information" (p. 233). Parents were asked to complete a registration form upon entering the Family Literacy Program. Section C of this document consisted of "Education, Goals, and Work Experience". The section of this document used for analysis required parents to list "Personal/Adult Education" goals they wanted to accomplish while in the program.

Parents were also asked to list an "Early Childhood Education" goal. Parents completed the goals in their own words. If parents had difficulty with writing, the family literacy staff wrote the goals dictated by the parents. A total of 26 parents' "goals sheets" were analyzed. Of these 26, 8 were from Park Place, 6 were from Terrace Heights, 8 were from Central Village, and 4 were from Steeple Chase.

Document analysis provided data used in triangulation techniques. Document analysis also provided data used to generate questions for personal interviews with parents. Credibility of parents' responses during the personal interview was established as each parent was asked to state their goal for the Family Literacy Program. The goal the parent stated was compared to the goal that parent listed in Section C of the registration form to ensure that the goal was consistent, thereby establishing credibility. This also helped to establish the reliability of the information that parents gave.

Quantitative Methods: Data Collection and Analysis

The quantitative data collected for this study utilized two instruments: the "Early Learning Level Checklist" and the "Parents As A Teacher Inventory." The "Early Learning Level Checklist" was administered in September 1998, or when a child entered the program and in May 1999, or when a child exited the program. The "Parents As A Teacher Inventory" was administered to parents in October, 1998, or when a parent entered the program.

"Early Learning Level Checklist" Data Collection and Analysis

Teachers instructed children to perform certain tasks which allowed the demonstration of mastery, or partial knowledge, of indicators in each of the five ELLC subcategories. If a child mastered the indicator, the teacher placed an "M" (for mastery) in the pre-test box. If the child

did not master the indicator, the teacher placed a "P" (for partial mastery) in the pre-test box. The same procedure was followed for the posttest. The number of indicators varied according to the subcategory with a total of 30 indicators on the assessment.

Students' pretest and posttest scores were analyzed in aggregate for all four sites. Computer analyses were conducted utilizing the "Statistical Product of Service Solutions" (SPSS, 1999) to generate information on frequencies, reliabilities, and means for subcategories of the ELLC. A paired-sample t-test was performed to test Hypothesis 3 utilizing pretest and posttest Total Scale Score for the Early Learning Level Checklist. This allowed for the determination of the significance of gains between pretest and posttest scores by preschool children with high-participation parents.

"Parents As A Teacher" Data Collection and Analysis

After parents completed the PAAT inventory, a numeric value of 4, 3, 2, and 1 was assigned to each of the fifty responses. The most positive response was given a value of 4, with decreasing values assigned to other responses on the basis of their distance from the most desired response. There were no incomplete or blank items. The PAAT inventory manual provided a scoring key with numerical values assigned to each response for each of the 50 questions. For item numbers 1, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 31, 33, 34, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, and 50, the most desired response was "strong no" with a value of 4. The remaining items were scored in reverse with "strong yes" receiving a value of 4.

Hypotheses 1 was tested using an independent samples t-test for comparison of means. Hypothesis 2 was tested using MANOVA and ANOVA for comparison of means. Frequencies were generated for both Hypotheses 1 and 2. Reliabilities were also calculated for the variables represented in Hypotheses 1 and 2. Computerized analyses were performed to generate information utilizing SPSS. Data collection for Hypothesis 2 was completed utilizing the subscales of creativity, frustration, control and play. Data collection for Hypothesis 1 was completed utilizing the subscale of teaching/learning. A group profile was run by participant type (high-participation, low participation, Section 8 Housing and Public Housing) on each subscale so that these responses could be compared and contrasted.

Subscale scores for the PAAT ranged from 10 to 40. The PAAT administration manual listed ranges of scores for highly favorable, slightly favorable, slightly unfavorable, and highly unfavorable scores for each subscale. A highly favorable score for each subscale ranged from 31 to 40, a favorable score ranged from 25 to 30, an unfavorable score ranged from 19 to 24 and a highly unfavorable score ranged from 10 to 18.

Qualitative Methods: Data Collection and Analysis

Qualitative data collection was utilized to collect information on Study Questions 1 through 6. Qualitative data collection consisted of classroom observations, document analysis, parent individual interviews, family literacy staff individual interviews, and focus group interviews with parents and family literacy staff. While the previous section described uses of credibility and trustworthiness associated with these types of data collection techniques, this section will describe how each set of data was collected. Each component of the qualitative analyses is discussed below.

Classroom Observations Data Collection

Data collection for Study Question 1 was performed through classroom observations. Four days of observations were scheduled and completed at each of the four Boulder Family Literacy sites (16 days total). Data were collected using Spradley's (1980) Developmental Research Sequence. The Developmental Research Sequence consists of observations moving from descriptive observations (grand tour observations and mini tour observations) to focused observations to selected observations. Table 3.10 lists the order and type of observation performed on each visit.

According to Spradley (1980), descriptive observations consist of two major types: grand tour observations and mini-tour observations. A grand tour observation is just what the name implies: taking a tour of a place, observation site, or other entity. It is a time to become familiar with the physical surroundings, location and placement of items, and get a general "feel" for the site. Detailed activities are unimportant at this point because the researcher has not been exposed to the environment enough to discover areas which warrant particular study. It is a time to get an "overview" of the event, place or environment.

Table 3.10

Order and Type of Observation for Each Site

	Order and Type of Observation			
	Observations 1-4	Observations 5-8	Observations 9-12	Observations 13-16
	<u>Grand Tour</u>	<u>Mini Tour</u>	<u>Focused</u>	<u>Selected</u>
Parkplace	October	October	November	December
Steeple Chase	October	October	November	December
Central Village	October	October	November	December
Terrace Heights	October	October	November	December

Grand Tour Observations. The grand tour observation for each site was initially completed during Pilot Study I. However, since a new academic year had begun with additional parents entering the Family Literacy Program, the researcher conducted an initial one-day grand tour observation at each site. Spradley (1980) identifies nine features which occur in social situations: space, actor, activity, object, act, event, time, goal, and feeling (p. 78). Spradley defines these terms as follows:

Space - the physical place or places

Actor - the people involved

Activity - set of related acts people perform

Object - physical things which are present and may or may not be utilized

Act - single actions that people do

Event - set of related activities which people perform

Time - sequencing of activities over the period of observation(s)

Goal - things people are trying to accomplish

Feeling - emotions felt and expressed by people

Field notes were kept in a 3-ring binder with divisions for each of the four sites. Based on the above nine features, the following grand tour questions were formulated to guide the observations and were kept as a point of reference in the binder:

1. How is the space in the classroom utilized?
2. What activities are performed in each space?
3. Are the actors involved in each activity adults or children?
4. What objects are used?
5. Is there a goal? If so, what is the goal?
6. What emotions and feelings do the actors express as they complete this activity?
7. Are there other actors not involved in the observed activity? What activities are these actors performing?
8. What is the timing (sequence of events)?

Diagrams of the classroom were kept in the binder so that quick notes could be made of activities being performed in each space of the room. Notes were taken on the diagrams to provide additional information during data analysis. Instances of native language (Patton, 1990, p. 227) were placed in quotations in the field notes, so the researcher could make reference to the number of times the term was used to determine if it was an established term within the social context. These terms were also explored in the personal interviews which took place at a later date.

Mini Tour Observations. One day of observation was conducted at each of the four sites (4 days total) utilizing mini tour questions (Spradley, 1980, p. 79). Mini tour questions are similar to grand tour questions, however, they focus on a "smaller unit of experience" (Spradley, 1980, p. 79). Mini tour questions were generated utilizing data gathered during the grand tour observations. Spradley's Descriptive Question Matrix (1980, pp. 82-83) was also used to generate questions for each mini tour observation. A copy of the matrix was kept in the field note binder in order that additional questions could be generated during each observation. Mini tour questions included:

1. Describe each space in the room? What objects are in each space? Are there any items on the wall?

2. Which objects are used in each space? What are all the ways each object is used? How is each object used in an activity or event? Is the object used by one actor or several actors?
3. What acts are performed? Is the activities performed by adults or children? Describe each act in detail. How are objects included in the act?
4. What are all the activities taking place? Describe these activities in detail. How do activities vary at different times? How do activities involve actors? How are activities included in events?
5. What activities do adults engage in? What acts do adults perform? What objects do adults use? How do they use these objects? Same questions for children.
6. What are the goals for each activity? How do these goals involve actors? How do these goals involve objects? What is the timing of these goals? Which goals were accomplished? Which goals were not accomplished? What feelings did actors evoke when goals were or were not accomplished?

Field notes were taken to answer each of the above questions. Additional field notes were kept on questions generated during each observation. Special notations were made of analysis made during observations.

Focused Observations. The third type of observation for each site consisted of a one-day focused observation (Spradley, 1980, p. 101). Focused observations allow for "cultural complexities" to be revealed. Cultural complexities refer to the implication (by Spradley) that even the simplest social situation is embedded within multiple cultural meanings.

The focused observation centered on the results from the domain analysis (described below in data analysis) performed after the grand tour and mini tour observations had been completed. Spradley (1980, p. 105) states that focused observations can center on personal interests of the researcher, suggestions by informants, theoretical interests, strategic ethnography, and organizing domains. The focused observations for this study were conducted

centering on the relationships within which domains were established during the first two observations at each site.

According to Spradley (1980), focused observations are guided by structural questions that the researcher asks herself. These questions are generated before the focused observation in order to guide the data collection process. The structural questions utilized are listed in Table 3.11.

Table 3.11	
Structural Questions for Focused Observations	
Domain	Structural Question
Types of Activities:	What are all the activities in which occur?
Types of Interactions:	What are all the types of interactions which take place? Who performs the interactions?
Expressed Feelings:	What feelings are expressed? Who expresses those feelings?
Descriptive Language:	How do parents and staff speak to the children? How do parents and staff speak to each other?
Location for Action:	Where do activities take place?

Selected Observations. The fourth, and last, type of observation for each site were Selected observations. These Selected Observations were highly focused on gathering additional information for the domains which had been developed. Selected Observations were performed after the completion of the focused observation and taxonomic analysis (see Figure 3.2). A paradigm worksheet was generated and contrast questions were developed to gather additional and missing information. Contrast questions took two included terms from a domain and determined how these items differed.

Selected Observations were performed at each site to confirm the taxonomy generated and to collect missing information for the previous taxonomy. The paradigm worksheet also guided the collection of data in order to determine contrasts within domains.

Classroom Observations: Data Analysis

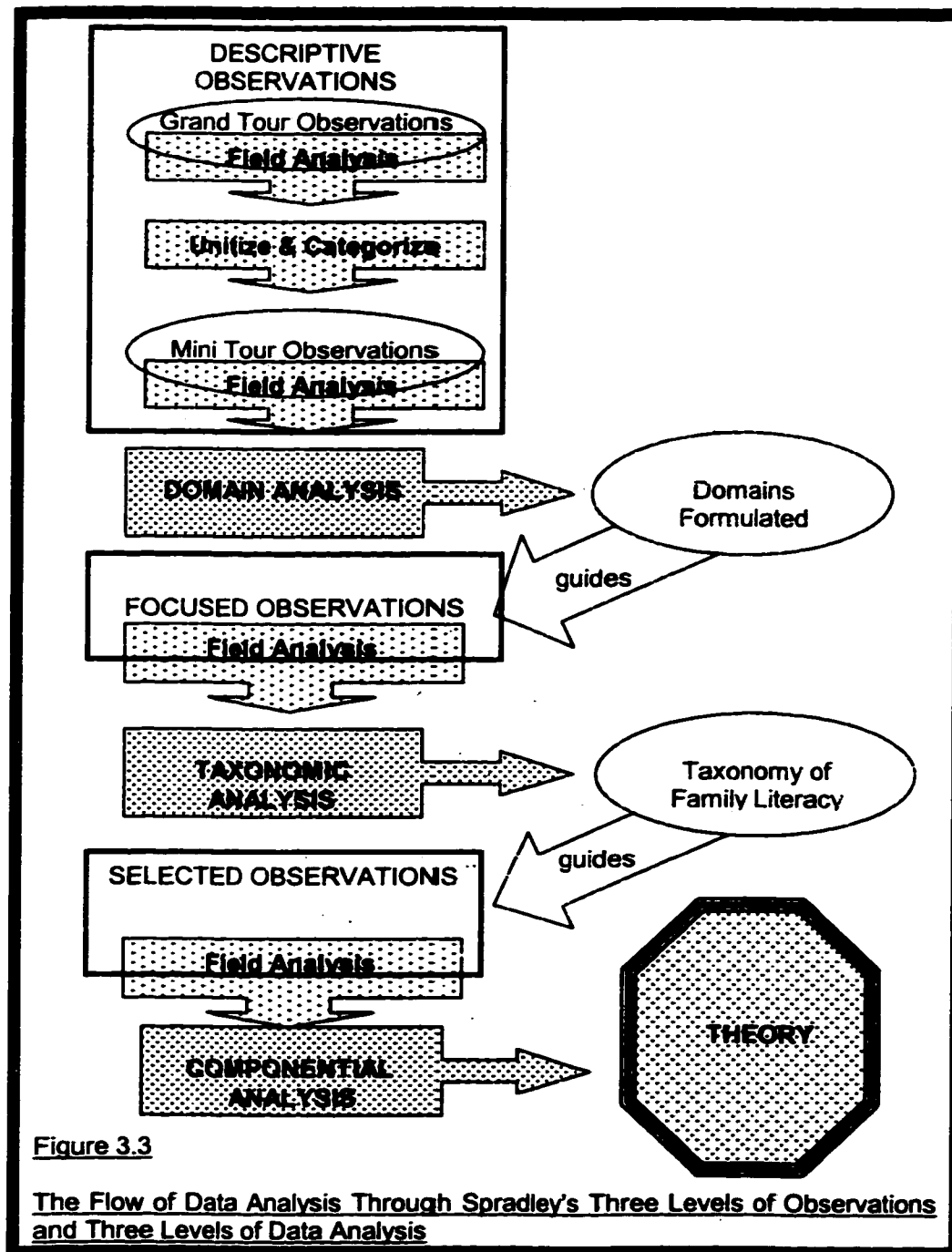
According to Bogdan and Biklen (1982), data analysis is "the process of systematically searching and arranging the interview transcripts, field notes, and other materials that you accumulate to increase your own understanding of them and to enable you to present what you have discovered to others. Analysis involves working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others" (p.145).

Spradley's (1980) "Developmental Research Sequence" was primarily used to analyze the classroom observation data. Data analysis for information gathered during classroom observations occurred at three levels. Figure 3.2 demonstrated the three levels of observations and the data analysis technique utilized for each. Figure 3.3 illustrates further the flow of data from the three levels of observations through the analysis process.

Domain Analysis: Data Analysis for Descriptive Observations. Field notes and still photographs provided the data to be analyzed for classroom observations. Data analysis began in the field through the formulation of categories of data collected during the Grand Tour Observations and with the development of additional questions (see Figure 3.3). Data gathered from the Grand Tour Observations were analyzed utilizing Lincoln and Guba's "Constant Comparative Method" (1985). The Mini Tour Observations occurred after the Grand Tour Observations. The Mini Tour Observations utilized the categories developed during the unitizing and categorizing phase. The Mini Tour Observations were more focused than the Grand Tour Observations, since the Mini Tour Observations centered on the developed categories. Analysis in the field continued during the Mini Tour Observations.

Domain Analysis was used to analyze the data from the Descriptive Observations (Grand Tour and Mini Tour). Domain Analysis (Spradley, 1980) consists of finding relationships between categories. Domain Analysis begins with identifying several possible relationships, then selecting the single best relationship, and then re-categorizing the data into fewer categories based on the identified, single-best relationship. Field notes are re-examined for additional possible categories or terms to be included within categories.

Cover terms were generated to incorporate the relationships among all the categories they included. This process was repeated until all categories and field notes had been re-examined and categorized under mutually exclusive cover terms. The cover terms then become domains. These domains are used to guide the Focused Observation and additional data collection.



Taxonomic Analysis: Data Analysis for Focused Observations. Taxonomic

Analysis is conducted on data gathered during the Focused Observations. Structural questions are developed and utilized during the Focused Observations to gather information on relationships that exist among domains. Thus, Domain Analysis focuses on relationships among categories, while Taxonomic Analysis focuses on relationships among domains.

Taxonomic Analysis began in the field during the Focused Observations as the researcher began to identify relationships among the domains. This process continued after the Focused Observations were completed. Taxonomic Analysis involved examination of the domains to determine if any of the domains could be included under broader, more inclusive domains. Additional included terms from the Focused Observations were also added under the appropriate domains. A "Taxonomy of Family Literacy" was constructed to illustrate the relationships among the domains (see Chapter 5).

Componential Analysis: Data Analysis for Selected Observations. The taxonomy

developed during the Taxonomic Analysis guided the Selected Observations. The Selected Observations involved examining contrasts within and across several domains. Componential Analysis organizes and represents the contrasts found within and across domains:

"Componential Analysis is the systematic search for the attributes (components of meaning) associated with cultural categories" (Spradley, 1980, p. 131). Componential Analysis began in the field during the Selected Observations. The domains of "activities," "interactions," and "program elements," as well as the subcategories under these domains, developed during the taxonomic analysis were contrasted against the following contrast phrases: parents and children who have been in the Family Literacy Program less than six months, parents and children who have been in the program 6 months to a year, and parents and children who have been in the program more than a year.

The procedure continued after the Selected Observations were completed with the re-examination of field notes from the Descriptive Observations and the Focused Observations. These field notes were sorted and grouped according to the contrast phrases listed above.

Parental and Family Literacy Staff Individual Interview: Data Collection and Analysis

Individual interviews with parents were conducted to gather data for Study Questions 1 through 6. The purpose of the parent interviews was to determine what parental practices were thought to be directly related to their child's education. The interview also contained questions to discover what materials were present in the home and how these materials were used. Last, the interview questions asked parents to reveal their future educational expectations for themselves and their children.

Data Collection. Family literacy staff individual interviews were designed not only to collect data for Study Question 3, but also to gain insight into the perceptions of family literacy staff regarding parents in order to address Study Questions 2, 4, 5, and 6.

The format of the parent personal interview included standardized open-ended questions, closed fixed response questions and the interview guide approach (Patton, 1990). The incorporation of these three types of interview protocols allowed for the gathering of a diverse data set.

Parents were contacted on an individual basis and asked to participate in the individual interview. Parents were contacted either during class by the researcher in person or by telephone. Personal interviews were conducted on a person-to-person basis, or via telephone if the parent had moved or the telephone method proved to be more efficient.

Family literacy staff members were interviewed person-to-person. Each family literacy staff member was given the opportunity to decline to be interviewed. Interview times were established according to the convenience of the family literacy staff member.

Parents or staff members being interviewed were asked to consent to the interview being audiotaped. The audiotapes were later transcribed and then destroyed. In all interviews, notes were kept of responses on the interview protocol sheet.

Data Analysis. Data collected from the parental and family literacy staff individual interviews were analyzed using the constant comparative method (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and the Developmental Research Sequence (Spradley, 1979, 1980) described earlier in this chapter.

Parent and Staff Focus Group Interviews: Data Collection and Analysis

Six focus group interviews were conducted. Four of these focus group interviews consisted of 4 high-participation parents at each of the four sites, one of these focus group interviews consisted of 3 low-participation parents at Parkplace, and the last of these focus group interviews consisted of the 8 family literacy staff members.

Data Collection. Data collection for the parent and staff focus group interviews was described earlier in this chapter and summarized in Tables 3.7, 3.8, and 3.9.

Data Analysis. Kreuger's (1988) technique for analyzing focus group results was utilized. The first step consisted of "finding the big ideas" (p. 120). This meant rereading responses to determine the underlying themes present in the data. The responses were then unitized and categorized utilizing the technique of Lincoln and Guba (1985) described above.

The context of participant responses was also examined to determine the "triggering stimulus" (Kreuger, 1988, p. 120), which is the question or comment that lead the participant to speak. The wording of the participant's comment was then interpreted in light of the stimulus. This information was added to the categories and taxonomic analysis for consideration in the final analysis.

Document Analysis: Data Collection and Analysis

Documentation on parental goals for participating in the Family Literacy Program was obtained when parents registered for the Boulder Family Literacy Program and utilized to answer Study Questions 7 and 8. of this research study. Section C of the Boulder Family Literacy Program's registration form had a section entitled "Education, goals, and Work Experience."

Data Collection. Parents were asked to complete, in their own words, "Personal/Adult Education" goals and "Early childhood Education" goals. Parents who indicated they could not write their responses dictated their response to a family literacy staff member who wrote the response just as it was stated. The Boulder Family Literacy Program provided the registration forms for high-participation parents.

Data Analysis. Parents' responses were analyzed utilizing Lincoln and Guba's (1985) Constant Comparative method of unitizing and categorizing described earlier in this chapter.

Document analysis was conducted utilizing the categories which had emerged during the classroom observations.

Triangulation of Qualitative and Quantitative Results

Patton (1990) states that triangulation is a way to strengthen the design of a study. Triangulation is the combination of methodologies, including quantitative and qualitative approaches, and data collection to add credibility and determine reliability of data collected. There are four types of triangulation: data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation, and methodological triangulation. This study utilized data and methodological forms of triangulation.

The design of this study included methodological triangulation since both quantitative and qualitative methods were utilized to answer the Hypotheses and Study Questions. Data triangulation of qualitative data sources was achieved through the use of classroom observations, document analysis, individual interviews, and focus group interviews.

The use of multiple sources of information assisted in the validation and cross-checking of findings from one type of data collection to the next. For example, classroom observations were performed first. Document analysis was performed second. Quantitative data analysis was completed prior to the qualitative study. Information gathered from classroom observations, document analysis and quantitative data analysis was used to construct the protocol for the individual interviews. Information generated from the individual interviews guided the generation of the focus group protocol. Thus, information was constantly being cross-checked in the next part of the study.

Issue of Self Selection

An important methodological issue to be taken into consideration when reading the results listed in Chapters 4 and 5 concerns self-selection of participants in this study. The original intent of this study was to draw a random sample of high-participation and low-participation parents who had volunteered for the quantitative data collection.

However, due to the low numbers of parents participating at each site, random sampling was not possible. In its place, all parents with a 50% or higher attendance rate were included in

the high-participation group. This resulted in a self-selected high-participation group of parents. Therefore, some of the differences between the high-participation and low-participation groups of parents discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 could be due to the effects of parental self selection.

CHAPTER 4 QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

Introduction

This chapter contains a discussion of the results of the quantitative data analysis. First, Pearson's Correlation Coefficients among the PAAT score and its five subscales will be presented, followed by the results from three statistical tests of the reliability of the PAAT for the study's sample. The remainder of the chapter describes the results of statistical analysis of Hypotheses 1 through 3. For each hypothesis, descriptive statistics are presented first, followed by the results of inferential tests of the hypothesis.

Pearson's Correlation Coefficients and Reliability of PAAT

Pearson's Correlation Coefficients and three types of reliabilities were generated for the PAAT to determine its feasibility for the use within the Family Literacy Program that served as the sample for this study.

Pearson's Correlation Coefficients

The total PAAT score and its five subscales were correlated utilizing Pearson's Correlation Coefficients (SPSS, 1999). The sample population was divided into five groups for analysis: total population, high-participation parents, low-participation parents, Section 8 Housing parents, and Public Housing parents. Pearson's Correlation Coefficients were generated for each group.

The PAAT scores for the total sample of parents produced the highest correlations (see Table 4.1). In fact, all five subscales and the total PAAT scores were significantly correlated with each other ($p < .01$ or greater). All correlations were positive indicating that as the score for one subscale and/or the total score increased, so did the scores for the other subscales and/or the total score. Correlations between the total score and the four subscales (scale – subscale correlation coefficients) ranged from .75 to .90.

Pearson's Correlation Coefficients calculated for the subgroups (high-participation parents, low-participation parents, Section 8 Housing parents and Public Housing parents) are found in Table 4.2. The total PAAT score was significantly correlated with all five subscales across all four groups.

Table 4.1

Pearson's Correlation Coefficients for PAAT Total Scores for Total Sample of Parents

	Total PAAT	Creativity	Control	Frustration	Play	Teaching/ Learning
Total PAAT	1.00					
Creativity	.82*	1.00				
Control	.75*	.54*	1.00			
Frustration	.75*	.57*	.40*	1.00		
Play	.80*	.55*	.56*	.46*	1.00	
Teaching/ Learning	.90*	.54*	.62*	.59*	.70*	1.00

Note. * $p < .01$.

The creativity subscale was significantly correlated with the other three subscales for Section 8 Housing and Public Housing parents. Of the twenty-four remaining correlations (among the control, frustration, play, and teaching and learning subscales), thirteen were significant. Eight of these thirteen significant correlations were for the Section 8 Housing and Public Housing groups.

All of the correlations among the subscales for the four groups were positive. These correlations are considered adequate due to the low number of participants in each group and due to the fact that the subscales are all measuring somewhat different constructs.

Reliability of the PAAT

Three types of reliability were performed on the total PAAT scores and the five subscales. Cronbach's Alpha was calculated to determine internal consistency, based on the average inter-item correlation. The reliability for the total PAAT was $r = .81$. Subscale reliabilities were as follows: Creativity was $r = .55$, Control was $r = .44$, Frustration was $r = .50$, Play was $r = .51$ and Teaching/Learning was $r = .69$.

Split-half correlations were performed. This statistical test splits the total scale into two parts and examines the correlation between the halves. The Spearman-Brown reliability coefficient for the two halves was $r = .96$. The Guttman split-half correlation coefficient was $r = .85$.

These ratings indicate that the PAAT has adequate reliabilities for use with the sample population for this study.

Table 4.2

Pearson's Correlation Coefficients for PAAT Scores for Four Groups of Parents

	Total PAAT	Creativity	Control	Frustration	Play	Teaching/ Learning
Total PAAT	(1.00) [1.00] {1.00} /1.00/					
Creativity	(.73)* [.62]* {.78}* /.78/*	(1.00) [1.00] {1.00} /1.00/				
Control	(.66)* [.59]* {.69}* /.69/*	(.39) [.24] {.51}* /.51/*	(1.00) [1.00] {1.00} /1.00/			
Frustration	(.82)* [.63]* {.69}* /.69/*	(.42)** [.45]* {.48}* /.48/*	(.41)** [.08] {.29} /.29/	(1.00) [1.00] {1.00} /1.00/		
Play	(.56)* [.67]* {.74}* /.74/*	(.21) [.22] {.40}** /.40/**	(.18) [.40]* {.43}** /.43/**	(.35) [.13] {.29} /.29/	(1.00) [1.00] {1.00} /1.00/	
Teaching/ Learning	(.78)* [.78]* {.87}* /.82/*	(.44)** [.27] {.54}* /.54/*	(.58)* [.27] {.56}* /.56/*	(.68)* [.31] {.58}* /.48/*	(.20) [.56]* {.68}* /.68/*	(1.00) [1.00] {1.00} /1.00/

Note. Enclosed values represent the following: (high-participation parents), [low-participation parents], {Section 8 Housing parents}, /Public Housing parents/.

* $p < .01$. ** $p < .05$.

Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 was stated as follows: Low-literate parents who have high participation rates in a Family Literacy Program will have more favorable perceptions of themselves as being a teacher of their child when compared to low-literate parents who have low participation rates.

Data for Hypothesis 1 were collected using the "Teaching/Learning" subscale of the "Parents As A Teacher" Inventory (questions 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, 40, 45, and 50) described in Chapter 3. The scores for this subscale were used to determine if high-participation parents held more favorable perceptions of themselves as being teachers of their children as compared to low-participation parents. Descriptive statistics and an independent samples t-test were calculated for the "Teaching/Learning" subscale. Analyses were performed utilizing SPSS (1999).

Descriptive Statistics: Frequencies, Mean, Median, Maximum and Minimum

Table 4.3 contains the frequencies for the "Teaching/Learning" Total Subscale Score, broken down by following types of parent: high-participation parents, low-participation parents, Section 8 Housing and Public Housing. Possible scores on the "Teaching/Learning" Total Subscale Score ranged from 10 to 40. The higher the score, the more favorable the perception a parent has of himself/herself as being a teacher of their child. Actual obtained "Teaching/Learning" Total Subscale Scores for the sample ranged from 15 to 34.

Table 4.3 also contains the minimum, maximum, median, and mean scores, as well as the range, "Teaching/Learning" Total Subscale Score broken down by the following types of parents: high-participation, low-participation, section 8, and Public Housing parents.

Responses for high-participation parents had the smallest range (9) with a maximum score of 34 and a minimum score of 25. This indicates that high-participation parents had very similar views of themselves as teachers of their children. On the other hand, the range of scores for low-participation, section 8 and Public Housing parents were broader (16, 14, and 19 respectively). Thus, the perceptions of these parents varied much more than that of the high-participation parents.

The median score for low-participation parents (21) fall in the "unfavorable" range for parental perceptions. The median score for high-participation parents (28), section 8 parents (25) and Public Housing parents (25) fall within the "slightly favorable" range of scores (see Chapter 3 for further discussion of the PAAT scoring procedure).

Table 4.3

Frequency Distribution and Summary of Descriptive Statistics for the "Teaching/Learning" Total Subscale

Teaching/Learning Total Subscale Scores	Participation Type			Housing Type		
	High	Low	Total	Section 8	Public	Total
15	0	1	1	0	1	1
16	0	1	1	0	1	1
17	0	2	2	0	2	2
18	0	4	4	2	2	4
19	0	3	3	2	1	3
20	0	3	3	3	0	3
21	0	3	3	2	1	3
22	0	3	3	2	1	3
23	0	4	4	2	2	4
24	0	3	3	1	2	3
25	2	1	3	2	1	3
26	2	2	4	2	2	4
27	5	1	6	2	4	6
28	5	0	5	4	1	5
29	2	0	2	2	0	2
30	3	0	3	1	2	3
31	1	1	2	1	1	2
32	2	0	2	1	1	2
33	0	0	0	0	0	0
34	2	0	2	0	2	2
Total Number of Responses	24	32	56	29	27	56
Minimum	25	15	15	18	15	15
Maximum	34	31	34	32	34	34
Median	28	21	25	25	25	25
Mean	29	21	24	24	24	24
Range	9	16	19	14	19	19

Note. Possible scores for the "Teaching/Learning" Total Subscale ranged from 10 to 40.

Table 4.4 contains a summary of the means and the standard deviations for the scores. High-participation parents had the lowest standard deviation (2.5) indicating that their scores had less variance and were closely distributed around the mean. This indicated that high-participation parents held similar views, as evidenced by similar scores, with regard to their self-perceptions as teachers of their children.

Parents residing in Public Housing, on the other hand, had the largest standard deviation (4.5) indicating that their scores were widely distributed. These parents had the most variance in their perceptions of themselves as being teachers of their children.

Table 4.4

Means and Standard Deviations for the "Teaching/Learning" Total Subscale

Type of Parent	Mean	Standard Deviation
High-Participation	28.7	2.5
Low-Participation	21.3	3.5
Section 8 Housing	24.4	4.1
Public Housing	24.5	5.5
Total Parents	24.5	4.8

Note. Values are rounded to the nearest tenth.

Independent Samples T-Test

In order to test Hypothesis 1 a one-tailed t-test was run with participation types (high-participation parent or low-participation parent) as the independent variable and "Teaching/Learning" Total Subscale Score on the PAAT as the dependent variable. A one-tailed test for significance was used since the hypothesis was unidirectional. The .05 level of significance was used to test the hypothesis.

The independent samples t-test comparing the means of the high-participation parents and low-participation parents for the "Teaching/Learning" Total Subscale Score on the PAAT yielded significant results (see Table 4.5). These results provide evidence in support of Hypothesis 1 indicating that low-literate, high-participation parents have more favorable perceptions of themselves as being a teacher of their child (mean = 28.7), when compared to low-literate, low-participation parents (mean = 21.3).

These findings suggest that participation in Family Literacy Programs may influence low-literate parents' perceptions of themselves as teachers of their children. Since the "Teaching/Learning" Total Subscale Score is highly correlated with the total PAAT score, high-participation parents are also likely to display more favorable parenting behaviors than low-participation parents.

Table 4.5**Test of Significance and Mean Score Differences for Hypothesis 1**

T-test Value	8.6
Degrees of Freedom	54
Level of Significance	$p < .0001$
Mean Score:	
High-participation parent	28.7
Low-participation parent	21.3
Difference in Scores:	
High and Low participation parent	7.4

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 was stated as follows: Low-literate parents who have high participation rates in a Family Literacy Program will have more favorable attitudes and beliefs regarding their children when compared to low-literate parents who have low participation rates.

Data for Hypothesis 2 was collected using the "Creativity," "Control," "Frustration," and "Play" subscales of the "Parents As A Teacher" Inventory described in Chapter 3. The scores for these subscales were used to determine if high-participation parents held more favorable attitudes and beliefs regarding their children as compared to low-participation parents. Descriptive statistics were calculated for the "Creativity," "Control," "Frustration," and "Play" subscales. MANOVA was also calculated to compare means of the four subscales. ANOVA was then calculated when MANOVA results were significant.

Descriptive Statistics: Frequencies, Mean, Median, Maximum and Minimum

Tables 4.6, 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9 contain the frequencies, minimum, maximum, median, mean, and range for the "Creativity," "Control," "Frustration," and "Play" Total Subscale Scores respectively, broken down by the following types of parents: high-participation parents, low-participation parents, Section 8 Housing and Public Housing. Possible scores on the each subscale ranged from 10 to 40. The higher the score, the more favorable attitudes a parent has regarding that subscale (see Chapter 3 for further discussion of the PAAT scoring procedure). Actual obtained "Creativity" Total Subscale Scores for the sample ranged from 19 to 37, "Control" Total Subscale Scores ranged from 15 to 29, "Frustration" Total Subscale Scores ranged from 16 to 32, and "Play" Total Subscale Scores ranged from 20 to 34.

Table 4.6 lists responses for the "Creativity" Total Subscale. Responses for low-participation parents had the smallest range (7) with a maximum score of 26 and a minimum score of 19. This indicates that low-participation parents had very similar views with regards to their child's creative tendencies, and that these scores are relatively low. On the other hand, the range of scores for section 8, high-participation and Public Housing parents were broader (18, 17, and 14, respectively). Thus, the perceptions of these parents varied much more than that of the low-participation parents.

Table 4.6

Frequency Distribution and Summary of Descriptive Statistics for the "Creativity" Total Subscale

Subscale Score	Participation Type			Housing Type		
	High	Low	Total	Section 8	Public	Total
19	0	6	6	4	2	6
20	1	2	3	1	2	3
21	0	7	7	2	5	7
22	1	4	5	3	2	5
23	1	8	9	7	2	9
24	4	2	6	4	2	6
25	4	1	5	2	3	5
26	4	2	6	3	3	6
27	2	0	2	1	1	2
28	2	0	2	0	2	2
29	2	0	2	0	2	2
30	0	0	0	0	0	0
31	0	0	0	0	0	0
32	1	0	1	1	0	1
33	1	0	1	0	1	1
34	0	0	0	0	0	0
35	0	0	0	0	0	0
36	0	0	0	0	0	0
37	1	0	1	1	0	1
Total Number of Responses	24	32	56	29	27	56
Minimum	20	19	19	19	19	19
Maximum	37	26	37	37	33	37
Median	26	22	23	24	24	23
Mean	26	22	23	24	24	23
Range	17	7	18	18	14	18

Note. Possible scores for the "Creativity" Total Subscale ranged from 10 to 40.

The median "Creativity" Total Subscale Scores for the high-participation, low-participation, Section 8 Housing, and Public Housing were 26, 22, 24, and 24 respectively. The

scores below 25 indicate "slightly unfavorable" parent attitudes in this area while the score of 26 indicates a "favorable" parental attitude.

Table 4.10 contains the mean and the standard deviation for the "Creativity" Total Subscale Scores. Low-participation parents had the lowest standard deviation (2.0) indicating that their scores had less variance and were closely distributed around the mean. This indicated that low-participation parents held similar views, as evidenced by similar scores, with regard to their attitudes towards their children's creativity.

High-participation parents and parents residing in Section 8 Housing, on the other hand, had the largest standard deviation (3.8) indicating that their scores were widely distributed. These parents had the most variance in their perceptions of their child's creativity.

The "Control" subscale measured parental attitudes and beliefs regarding issues of control with their child. Table 4.7 lists parental responses for the "Control" Total Subscale Scores. The "Control" Total Subscale Scores ranged from 15 to 29 with a 14-point range and a median score of 23. Higher scores on this subscale indicate more favorable parental attitudes and beliefs regarding their child and control issues. The obtained scores indicate "slightly unfavorable" parental attitudes and beliefs regarding their children and control, suggesting that these parents do not allow their children much choice in activities.

Responses for high-participation parents had the smallest range (8) with a maximum score of 29 and a minimum score of 21. This indicates that high-participation parents had very similar views with regard to control issues with their children. The remaining three groups of parents used for comparison (low-participation, Section 8, and Public Housing parents) had "Control" Total Subscale Scores which ranged from 11 to 12. These broader ranges indicated that these parents had somewhat more dissimilar views of control issues regarding their children.

Table 4.10 summarizes the mean and standard deviation between scores for the "Control" Total Subscale Scores. High-participation parents had the highest mean (24.9) and lowest standard deviation (2.0). Low-participation parents had the lowest mean (21.6) score on the "Control" Total Subscale.

Table 4.7**Frequency Distribution and Summary of Descriptive Statistics for the "Control" Total Subscale**

Subscale Score	Participation Type			Housing Type		
	High	Low	Total	Section 8	Public	Total
15	0	1	1	0	1	1
16	0	1	1	0	1	1
17	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	0	2	2	1	1	2
19	0	2	2	0	2	2
20	0	3	3	1	2	3
21	1	5	6	3	3	6
22	1	7	8	2	6	8
23	5	4	9	8	1	9
24	3	1	4	3	1	4
25	4	5	9	6	3	9
26	4	0	4	2	2	4
27	5	1	6	2	4	6
28	0	0	0	0	0	0
29	1	0	1	1	0	1
<hr/>						
Total Number of Responses	24	32	56	29	27	56
Minimum	21	15	15	18	15	15
Maximum	29	27	29	29	27	29
Median	25	22	23	24	22	23
Mean	25	22	23	23	22	23
Range	8	12	14	11	12	14

Note. Possible scores for the "Control" Total Subscale ranged from 10 to 40.

Table 4.8 contains the frequencies for the "Frustration" Total Subscale Scores broken down by the four types of parents. Again, possible scores on the "Frustration" Total Subscale ranged from 10 to 40. The closer a score is to 40, the more favorable attitudes, or the less frustration, a parent displays toward their child. Actual obtained "Frustration" Total Subscale scores ranged from 16 to 32 with a mean of 24.

Table 4.8 also contains the minimum, maximum, and mean scores, as well as the range of scores. Table 4.10 summarizes the mean score and lists the standard deviation for the "Frustration" Total Subscale Scores.

Table 4.8**Frequency Distribution and Summary of Descriptive Statistics for the "Frustration" Total Subscale**

Subscale Score	Participation Type			Housing Type		
	High	Low	Total	Section 8	Public	Total
16	0	1	1	1	0	1
17	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	0	1	1	1	0	1
19	0	2	2	2	0	2
20	0	3	3	2	1	3
21	2	2	4	4	0	4
22	1	3	4	3	1	4
23	2	5	7	0	7	7
24	4	5	9	3	6	9
25	0	3	3	1	2	3
26	3	4	7	6	1	7
27	4	1	5	2	3	5
28	4	1	5	3	2	5
29	0	0	0	0	0	0
30	1	0	1	1	0	1
31	1	1	2	0	2	2
32	2	0	2	0	2	2
<hr/>						
Total Number of Responses	24	32	56	29	27	56
<hr/>						
Minimum	21	16	16	16	20	16
Maximum	32	31	32	30	32	32
Median	27	23	24	24	24	24
Mean	26	23	24	24	23	24
Range	11	15	16	14	12	16

Note. Possible scores for the "Frustration" Total Subscale ranged from 10 to 40.

Responses for high-participation parents had the smallest range (11); however, this range differed from Public Housing parents by only one point (range of 12). High-participation parents and parents residing in Public Housing had the highest mean scores (26.2 and 25.4, respectively, see Table 4.10). These statistics indicate that these two types of parent groups had more consistent views regarding frustration and their child, and that their views regarding frustration and their child were more favorable than the other two types of parents.

Table 4.9 contains frequencies, minimum, maximum, median, mean and range scores for the "Play" Total Subscale Score broken down by the four types of parents. Possible scores

on the "Play" Total Subscale Score ranged from 10 to 40. The higher the score, the more favorable a parent's perceptions were regarding their child and play. Actual obtained "Play" Total Subscale scores for the sample ranged from 20 to 34. Scores for the total sample had a 14-point range with a maximum score of 34 and a minimum score of 20. The median score for the total population (26) indicates "slightly favorable" parental perceptions regarding their child and play.

Table 4.9

Frequency Distribution and Summary of Descriptive Statistics for the "Play" Total Subscale

Subscale Score	Participation Type			Housing Type		
	High	Low	Total	Section 8	Public	Total
20	0	2	2	0	2	2
21	0	1	1	0	1	1
22	0	7	7	5	2	7
23	1	6	7	4	3	7
24	2	3	5	0	5	5
25	1	5	6	4	2	6
26	2	5	7	4	3	7
27	4	2	4	2	4	6
28	3	1	4	3	1	4
29	3	0	3	2	1	3
30	3	0	3	3	0	3
31	1	0	1	0	1	1
32	2	0	2	1	1	2
33	0	0	0	0	0	0
34	2	0	2	1	1	2
Total Responses	24	32	56	29	27	56
Minimum	23	20	20	22	20	20
Maximum	34	28	34	34	34	34
Median	29	24	26	26	25	26
Mean	28	24	26	26	25	26
Range	11	8	14	12	14	14

Note. Possible scores for the "Play" Total Subscale ranged from 10 to 40.

Responses for high-participation and low-participation parents had the lowest range (11 and 8 respectively). High-participation parents' scores ranged from 23 to 34, while low-participation parents' scores ranged from 20 to 28. Low-participation parents also had the lowest standard deviation (2.1) of the four types of parents (see Table 4.10). The median score of 29 for high-participation parents fell within the "slightly favorable" range for parental attitudes and behaviors, while the median score of 24 for low-participation parents fell within the "slightly

unfavorable" range. Parents residing in Section 8 Housing or Public Housing had median scores of 26 and 25 respectively, both falling within the "slightly favorable" range for parental attitudes and beliefs regarding their child and play.

These scores indicate that high-participation parents have attitudes and beliefs which encourage their children to play more than the other three types of parents. This could be partially attributed to their involvement in the Family Literacy Program which teaches how children can learn through play and also gives a different meaning to the word "play."

Low-participation parents had the most consist views of their child and play as a group, their range and standard deviation were the smallest (8 and 2.1 respectively). Their scores are on the lower end of the Subscale indicating that they had the least favorable attitudes toward play.

Table 4.10

Means and Standard Deviations for the "Creativity," "Control," "Frustration," and "Play" Total Subscales

Type of Parent	Mean				Standard Deviation			
	Creativity	Control	Frustration	Play	Creativity	Control	Frustration	Play
High-Participation	26.5	24.9	26.2	28.3	3.7	2.0	3.2	3.0
Low-Participation	21.8	21.6	23.1	23.8	2.0	2.7	3.1	2.1
Section 8 Housing	23.6	23.7	23.6	26.1	3.8	2.3	3.5	3.3
Public Housing	24.0	22.3	25.4	25.3	3.5	3.3	3.2	3.4
Total Parents	23.8	23.0	24.4	25.8	3.6	2.9	3.5	3.3

Note. Values are founded to the nearest tenth.

MANOVA (Multivariate Analysis)

In order to test Hypothesis 2 to determine if high-participation parents would have more favorable attitudes and beliefs regarding their children when compared to low-participation parents, scores on four of the PAAT Subscales were compared. The data for the four Subscales were first analyzed using MANOVA. The independent variable consisted of two levels: high-participation parents and low-participation parents. The dependent variables included the "Creativity" Total Subscale Scores, the "Control" Total Subscale Scores, the "Frustration" Total Subscale Scores, and the "Play" Total Subscale Scores.

Three MANOVA tests were performed on the data (Pillais, Hotellings, and Wilks). All three analyses revealed significant multivariate effects for parental participation (high-participation versus low-participation) across the four Subscale Scores [$F(4, 51) = 17.08, p < .0001$]. These findings suggest that high-participation parents have significantly different attitudes and beliefs concerning their children than do low-participation parents.

ANOVA (Univariate Analysis)

Since MANOVA results indicated a significant effect for participation level, univariate ANOVAs were calculated to examine more closely results from each of the four Subscales ("Creativity", "Control", "Frustration", and "Play"). Table 4.11 contains the results from the ANOVAs and the mean and standard deviation for each of the four Total Subscale Score. There were significant univariate effects for the "Creativity" Total Subscale Score [$F(1, 54) = 36.8, p < .0001$], "Control" Total Subscale Score [$F(1, 54) = 25.6, p < .0001$], "Frustration" Total Subscale Score [$F(1, 54) = 13.2, p < .001$], and the "Play" Total Subscale Score [$F(1, 54) = 45.0, p < .0001$].

Table 4.11					
<u>Mean, Standard Deviation and Results from ANOVA for "Creativity," "Control," "Frustration," and "Play" Total Subscale Scores</u>					
	Standard		ANOVA RESULTS		
	Mean	Deviation	Degrees of Freedom	F	Level of Significance
Creativity Total Subscale	23.8	3.6	1,54	36.8	.0001
High-Participation	26.5	3.7			
Low-Participation	21.8	2.0			
Control Total Subscale	23.0	2.9	1,54	25.6	.0001
High-Participation	24.9	2.0			
Low-Participation	21.6	2.7			
Frustration Total Subscale	24.4	3.5	1,54	13.2	.001
High-Participation	26.2	3.2			
Low-Participation	23.1	3.1			
Play Total Subscale	25.8	3.3	1,54	45.0	.0001
High-Participation	28.3	3.0			
Low-Participation	23.8	2.1			

High-participation parents had a higher mean score on every Subscale than that of low-participation parents, strongly suggesting that high-participation parents held more favorable

attitudes and beliefs regarding their children than low-participating parents. These findings were in the direction predicted by Hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 was stated as follows: Preschool children with high parental participation rates will show significant gains between pretest and posttest scores on the Early Learning Level Checklist.

The ELLC consisted of five subscales: "Socio-emotional Development" "Cognitive Development" "Pre-math," "Physical Development," and "Emerging Science." For analysis of Hypothesis 3, only scores for children of high-participation parents were analyzed (27 total scores). Information regarding the reliability of the ELLC was based on the pretest of 41 children.

Pearson's Correlation Coefficients and Reliability of the ELLC

Pearson's Correlation Coefficients and split-half reliabilities were generated for the pretest of the ELLC to determine its feasibility for use within the Family Literacy Program that served as the sample of this study.

Pearson's Correlation Coefficients. The total ELLC and its five Subscales were correlated utilizing the Pearson's Correlation Coefficients (SPSS, 1999) for the pretest data of the total population of 41 children.

Of the 15 correlations produced for the ELLC Subscale Scores, 7 were significant. All 7 of these correlations were positive indicating that as the score for one Subscale increases or decreases so does the score for the correlated Subscale. The ELLC Total Score was significantly correlated ($p < .01$ or greater) with all Subscales, with scores ranging from .23 to .70, except the "Emerging Science" Subscale. Significant positive correlations were also found between the "Socio-emotional Development" Subscale and the "Physical Development" and "Emerging Science" Subscales, and between the "Pre-math Development" Subscale and the "Physical Development" Subscale.

One negative correlation was produced between the "Cognitive Development" Subscale and the "Physical Development" Subscale; however, this correlation was not significant. This

correlation indicates that as a child's score for the "Cognitive Development" Subscale increases, the child's score for the "Physical Development" Subscale would tend to decrease.

Table 4.12

Pearson's Correlation Coefficients for ELLC Total Subscale Scores for Pretest for Total Population of Children

	Total ELLC	Socio-emotional Development	Cognitive Development	Pre-Math	Physical Development	Emerging Science
Total ELLC	1.00					
Socio-emotional Development	.70*	1.00				
Cognitive Development	.36**	.08	1.00			
Pre-math	.62*	.26	.04	1.00		
Physical Development	.65*	.45*	-.17	.58*	1.00	
Emerging Science	.23	.32**	.10	.01	.08	1.00

Note. Total number of children completing the pretest was 41. * $p < .01$. ** $p < .05$.

Reliability of the ELLC. Reliability of the ELLC was established utilizing the total population ($n = 41$) of pretest scores. Spearman-Brown split half reliability was performed on the total ELLC scores and the five Subscales. Cronbach's Alpha was calculated to determine internal consistency, based on the average inter-item correlation. The reliability of the total ELLC pretest was $r = .70$.

Split-half correlations were performed. This statistical test splits the total scale into two parts and examines the correlation between the halves. The Spearman-Brown reliability coefficient for the two halves on the pretest total ELLC was $r = .87$. The Guttman split-half correlation was $r = .76$. The ratings on the pretest indicated that the ELLC had adequate reliabilities for use with the sample population for this study.

Descriptive Statistics

The "Early Learning Level Checklist" was given at the beginning (pretest) and at the end (posttest) of the Family Literacy Program year. Only the scores for the high-participation parents' children were analyzed ($n = 27$). Appendix C contains the frequency distribution for the

pretest and posttest total ELLC scores for the 27 children of high-participation parents. The total possible score on the ELLC is 30. Pretest scores ranged from 2.0 to 14.7. Posttest scores ranged from 5.7 to 27.

Table 4.13 contains the pretest and posttest mean scores for each of the five Subscales and the total score for the ELLC. Students of high-participation parents evidenced a mean increase on each of the five Subscales and the total score for the ELLC. The "Soci-emotional Development" Total Subscale Score evidenced a mean score increase of 1.1, "Cognitive Development" Total Subscale Score evidenced a mean score increase of 1.4, "Pre-math" Total Subscale Score evidenced a mean score increase of 1.3, "Emerging Science" Total Subscale Score evidenced a mean score increase of 1.3, and the Total Subscale Score for the ELLC evidenced a 5.8 mean score increase.

Table 4.13

Summary of Minimum, Maximum and Mean, and Scores for ELLC Total Subscale Scores for the Pretest and Posttest

	<u>Minimum</u>		<u>Maximum</u>		<u>Mean</u>		<u>Mean Change</u>
	<u>pre</u>	<u>post</u>	<u>pre</u>	<u>post</u>	<u>pre</u>	<u>post</u>	
Socio-emotional Development (5)	0	1	3	3	1.3	2.4	+1.1
Cognitive Development (10)	1	1	4	5	2.4	3.8	+1.4
Pre-math (7)	0	0	3	5	1.4	2.7	+1.3
Physical Development (5)	1	1	3	3	2.0	2.4	+0.4
Emerging Science (3)	0	1	1	3	.3	1.9	+1.6
Total (30)	3	10	11	17	7.4	13.2	+5.8

Note. Number in parentheses indicates the total maximum possible points for each subscale.

Paired-Samples T-Test

In order to test Hypothesis 3 and determine if children who participate in a Family Literacy Program show significant gains between pretest and posttest scores on the ELLC, pretest and posttest mean scores for the ELLC Total Score were compared utilizing a paired-

samples t-test (SPSS, 1999). A one-tailed test for significance was used since the hypothesis was unidirectional. The .05 level of significance was used to test Hypothesis 3.

The paired-samples t-test for the ELLC Total pretest and posttest scores yielded significant results (see Table 4.14). These results provide evidence in support of Hypothesis 3 indicating that children of parents, with high-participation rates in a Family Literacy Program, evidence significant educational gains as measured by the ELLC.

<u>Table 4.14</u>	
<u>Results of Paired-Samples T-Test for Pretest and Posttest ELLC Total Scores</u>	
T-test Value	8.1
Degrees of Freedom	26
Level of Significance	$p < .0001$
Mean Score:	
Pretest	7.4
Posttest	13.2
Difference in Scores:	
Pretest and Posttest	5.8

Conclusion

Results from the quantitative data analysis supported Hypotheses 1, 2 and 3. Findings suggest that participation in a Family Literacy Program may influence low-literate parents' perceptions of themselves as teachers of their children. High-participation parents were also found to have more favorable attitudes and beliefs regarding their children than low-participating parents. Children of parents, with high participation rates in a Family Literacy Program, also evidence significant gains in their education. These findings will be triangulated with findings from the qualitative data analysis, presented in Chapter 5, to add to the development of the stages of parental involvement presented in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5

QUALITATIVE RESULTS

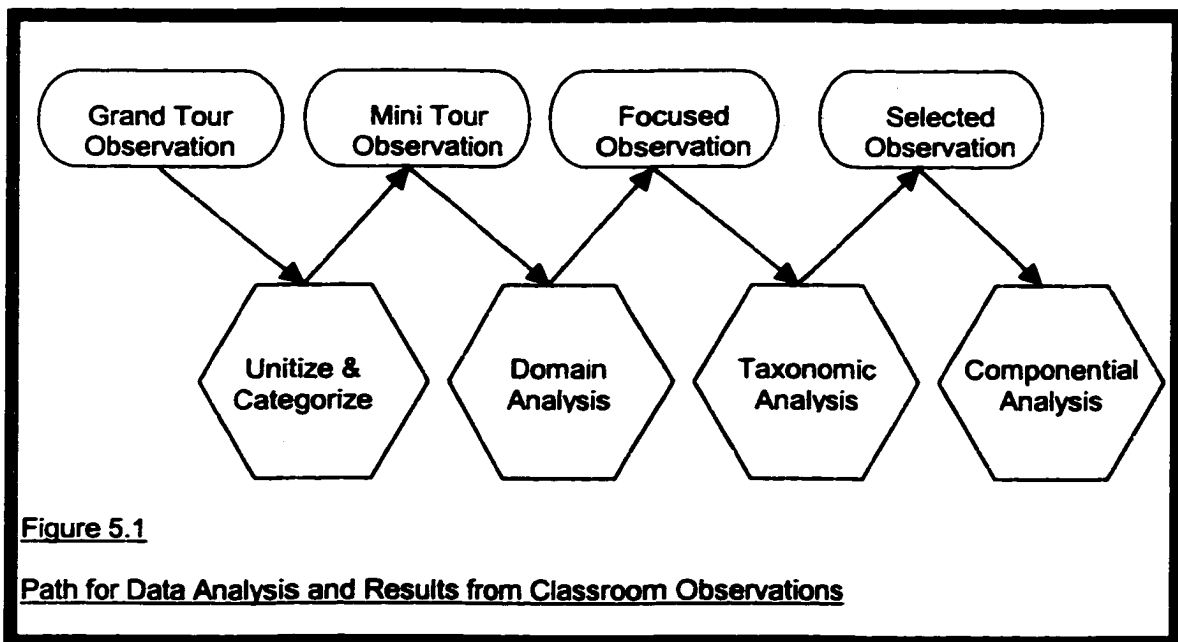
Introduction

This chapter presents findings from the qualitative data gathered to answer the six Study Questions developed to determine whether differences in perceptions, behavior, and expectations exist between high-participation and low-participation, low literate parents. This chapter is divided into sections according to the Study Questions. The specific wording for each Study Question is presented at the beginning of the respective section followed by the results pertaining to that Study Question. More details regarding qualitative data collection and analysis are located in Chapter 3.

Study Question 1

What choices and opportunities to initiate activities do low-literate parents give their children in a Family Literacy Program preschool setting?

Classroom observations were conducted to answer study question 1. Four levels of observations occurred at each site (Spradley, 1980). The four levels of observations were grand tour observations, mini tour observations, focused observations and selected observations (see Figure 5.1). Results for each observation levels will be discussed.



Unitizing and Categorizing Grand Tour Classroom Observation Data

Analysis in the field was conducted through the use of the researcher's (observer's) notes (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). The researcher's notes included personal thoughts and feelings about what was being observed. Speculations were made concerning native language, purposes of actions, feelings of participants, and the overall goals for various activities. Notes were made concerning the mental images that the researcher received while the observations were being conducted. The researcher's comments also contained her perceptions of how the actors understood their behavior.

These notes led to the development of provisional categories for data analysis. Provisional categories are preliminary or possible categories to which data can be classified. Provisional categories were listed in field notes during the recording of the grand tour observations (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1

Provisional Categories for Classroom Observational Data

<u>1. Types of Activities</u> Parent Activities Child Activities Activities with Parent and Child Together	<u>7. Location for Action</u> Parents' Only Room (computer, literacy) Parents' and Children's Room (areas working together)
<u>2. Social Interactions</u> Parent to Parent Parent to Staff Staff to Parent Staff to Staff	<u>8. Sequence of Events</u> Parents' Schedule Parent and Child Time Schedule
<u>3. Types of Interactions</u> Verbal, Nonverbal, Physical (touch) By Parent to Child Parent to Parent Interaction Parent to Staff Interaction Parent to Child Interaction Child to Parent Interaction Child to Child Interaction Child to Staff Interaction Staff to Parent Interaction Staff to Child Interaction Staff to Staff Interaction	<u>9. Social Language</u> By Parent to Parent By Parent to Staff
<u>4. Content of Interactions</u> Positive Encouragement's Negatives	<u>10. Physical Appearance</u> Child Parent
<u>5. Place for Interactions</u> Family Literacy Program Outside the Family Literacy Program Parent-Only Setting Parent and Child Setting	<u>11. Family Literacy Climate</u> Accepting Freedom Staff-Parent Good Rapport
<u>6. Descriptive Language</u> By Staff to Children By Staff to Parents (modeling) By Parents to Children	<u>12. Expressed Feelings</u> By Parents to Parents By Parents to Staff By Parents to Children By Children to Children By Children to Parents By Children to Staff By Staff to Staff By Staff to Children By Staff to Parents By Staff to Parents & Children Together

Unitizing and Categorizing: Refining the Categories

The provisional categories were re-examined during the mini tour observations. The provisional categories were listed in columns in the field notes. Activities and items related to each provisional category were listed under the perspective heading as it was observed.

The mini tour observations yielded additional field notes which were unitized and categorized utilizing the process described above. The provisional categories were once again re-examined, and categorical definitions developed to describe each category. Categorical definitions ensured that each category was "mutually exclusive" of the other categories listed. The development of categorical definitions also ensured internal consistency as each category had a unique definition not repeated in any other category (see Table 5.2).

Table 5.2

Definitions of Provisional Categories Derived from Classroom Observational Data

1. **Types of Activities** – Acts performed by a child, parent, or parent and child (together) which involves the completion of a visible product.
2. **Social Interactions** – Verbal and/or nonverbal communication that occur between parents or family literacy staff members not related to the Family Literacy Program.
3. **Types of Interactions** – Verbal and/or nonverbal communication between parents children, family literacy staff members, or any combination of the three.
4. **Content of Interactions** – The content of the message sent and received between parents, children, and/or family literacy staff members or any combination of the three.
5. **Place for Interactions** – The physical area where children, parents, or parent and child (together) engage in any type of interaction.
6. **Descriptive Language** – Words and sentences stated by parents or family literacy staff members, when speaking to children, describing activities or items.
7. **Location for Action** – The physical place where the above types of activities occur. Locations consist of the parent's room, the parent and child room, and areas outside the Program
8. **Sequence of Events** – The order in which the above types of activities occur.
9. **Social Language** – Verbal exchanges between parents, family literacy staff members, and/or children which is not related to the Family Literacy Program activities.
10. **Physical Appearances** – Observable attributes of parents and children.
11. **Family Literacy Climate** – Attitudes and behaviors expressed by parents, family literacy staff members, and children compose the climate of the Family Literacy Program.
12. **Expressed Feelings** – Emotional expressions verbalized by parents, children, and/or family literacy staff members.

Domain Analysis of Mini Tour Observation Data

Domain analysis (Spradley, 1980, p. 85) was performed utilizing the collected field notes that described the grand tour and mini tour observations. Domain analysis is a systematic method for determining relationships, searching for patterns, and describing behaviors. Spradley (1980, p.93) lists universal relationships which have been used to analyze field notes and photographs. These relationships include strict inclusion, spatial, cause-effect, rationale, location-for-action, function, means-end, sequence, and attribution.

Spradley's domain analysis methodology was used to examine the "Provisional Categories" listed in Table 5.1 for possible cover terms, which included several of the provisional categories. Field notes were re-examined for additional or new information. This process resulted in three main categories: Activities, Interactions, and Program Elements. All other domains were found to be subcategories of these three main categories. The resulting domains and their definitions are listed in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3

Definitions of Domains Derived from Classroom Observational Data

Activities – An act engaging a parent or child, either alone, together, or with another parent or child, which is performed in a specific location in a specific sequence.

Interactions - Verbal or nonverbal communication occurring between parents, children, staff, or any combination of the three, consisting of a message directly related to the Family Literacy Program, a social message, or a message which express feelings.

Program Elements – The climate and participants which are present in the Family Literacy Program.

Taxonomic Analysis: Focused Observation Data Analysis

The third level observations were completed at each site to confirm and elaborate the domains developed in the previous stage of data analysis (see Table 5.3). These focused observations were analyzed through a process Spradley (1979) calls taxonomic analysis. Taxonomies are an organization of the relationships among a set of categories based on a single semantic relationship. Taxonomies allow for relationships within domains to be examined

more thoroughly. The process of taxonomic analysis is to search for relationships between smaller units within each domain. Spradley (1980) lists the steps as follows:

1. Select a domain for taxonomic analysis.
2. Look for similarities based on the same semantic relationships.
3. Look for additional included terms.
4. Search for larger, more inclusive domains that you might include as a subset of the domain you are analyzing.
5. Construct a tentative taxonomy.
6. Make focused observations to check out your analysis.
7. Construct a completed taxonomy.

The process of taxonomic analysis began in the previous stage of data analysis with the formation of domains. Provisional categories (see Table 5.2) were searched for larger, more inclusive terms. The generation of definitions assisted in classifying each provisional category into one of the three domain areas and in the creation of subcategories (see Table 5.4).

Activities. There were three areas into which activities could be divided (see Figure 5.2). They were types of activities, sequence of activities, and location for activities. Types of activities included the organized, preplanned, family literacy activities initiated by family literacy staff throughout the Family Literacy Program. There was a scheduled time for each activity to occur throughout the day and week. These activities were sequenced, usually consisting of parent activities and child activities centering on a theme and culminating at the end of the week in an activity with parent and child together.

Parent activities centered on the parent's literacy and parenting skills. These activities occurred during the time where parents met in a group with family literacy staff members to complete individual or group assignments aimed at meeting the literacy and parenting needs of the parents. This was a time for parents to gain knowledge and skills, as well as, share and support experiences in the parenting portion of the activities.

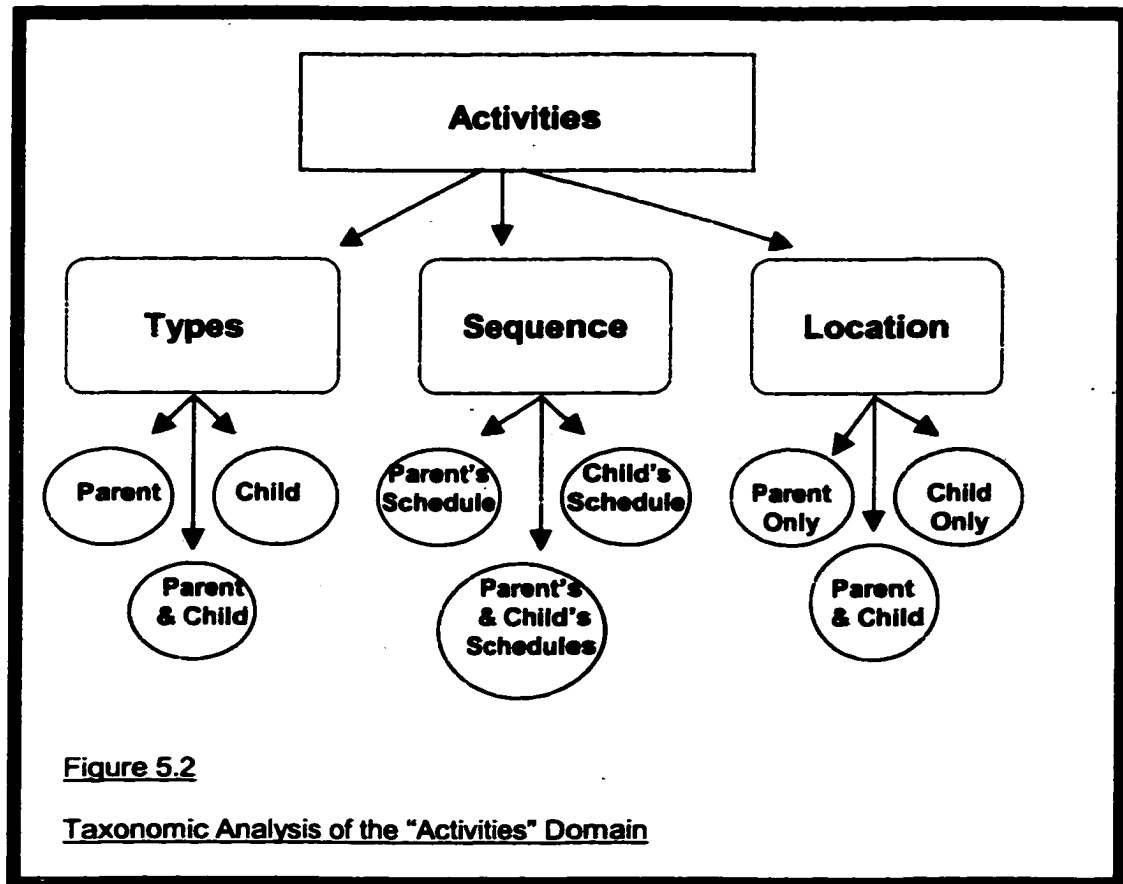
Table 5.4

Taxonomic Diagram of a Family Literacy Program

Family Literacy Program	Activities	Types of Activities	Parent Activities Child Activities Activities with Parents and Child Together	
		Sequence of Activities	Parents' Schedule Children's Schedule Parent and Child Together Time	
		Location of Activities	Parent Only Room Parent and Child Room Outside Program	
	Interactions	Verbal Interactions	Related to Program	Parent to Parent Parent to Staff Parent to Child Child to Parent Child to Staff Child to Child
			Social	Parent to Parent Parent to Staff Staff to Parent Staff to Staff
			Expressed Feelings	Parent Staff Child
		Nonverbal Interactions	Related to Program	Parent to Parent Parent to Staff Parent to Child Child to Child Child to Staff
			Social	Parent to Parent Parent to Staff Parent to Child Child to Parent Child to Staff Child to Child
		Physical Interactions	Related to Program	Parent to Parent Parent to Staff Parent to Child Child to Parent Child to Child Child to Staff Parent to Parent
			Social	Parent to Staff Staff to Parent Staff to Staff
	Program Elements	Participants	Parents Child Staff	
		Climate	Rapport Freedom	

Child activities were intended to develop pre-literacy skills in children. These skills consisted of pre-reading, pre-writing, pre-mathematics, as well as the development of social skills. Children engaged in developmentally appropriate activities directed by the teacher. Children were allowed to complete activities to their level of competency. There were no rules to follow or "right" or "wrong" answers. The process the children undergo during these activities is more important than the product produced. Children were allowed to play, discover, and engage in activities that stimulate their curiosity, imagination, and ultimate learning.

Parent activities and child activities culminated at the end of each week in an activity including the parent and child working together. Once again, the process was stressed as family literacy staff modeled the use of vivid language and questioning skills with the children for the parents to observe.



Teachers would then encourage parents to do the same, "Mom, say, oh, that's a pretty green bunny." The parent then repeated the teacher's prompt to the child. This type of staff prompting occurred throughout the activity.

Sequence of Activities indicated that there was a pattern within which the parent activities, child activities, and parent and child together activities occurred. As stated above, the meeting times at the beginning of the week were spent in groups where parents and children worked with their peers. The last session of the week was reserved for the parent and child together time during which parents and children completed activities together. Parents expressed that this time was the most enjoyable part of the program. It was a time when parents and children worked together to play a game, make a costume, color a poster, and complete many other activities. The following parent comments were noted by the researcher during classroom observations:

"That was the best yet!" a parent replied smiling as she completed her part of the "Big Bad Wolf" in a re-enactment of the "Three Little Pigs" for the children.

"I feel like a big kid. It's a shame that I have to use (child's name) as an excuse to paint."

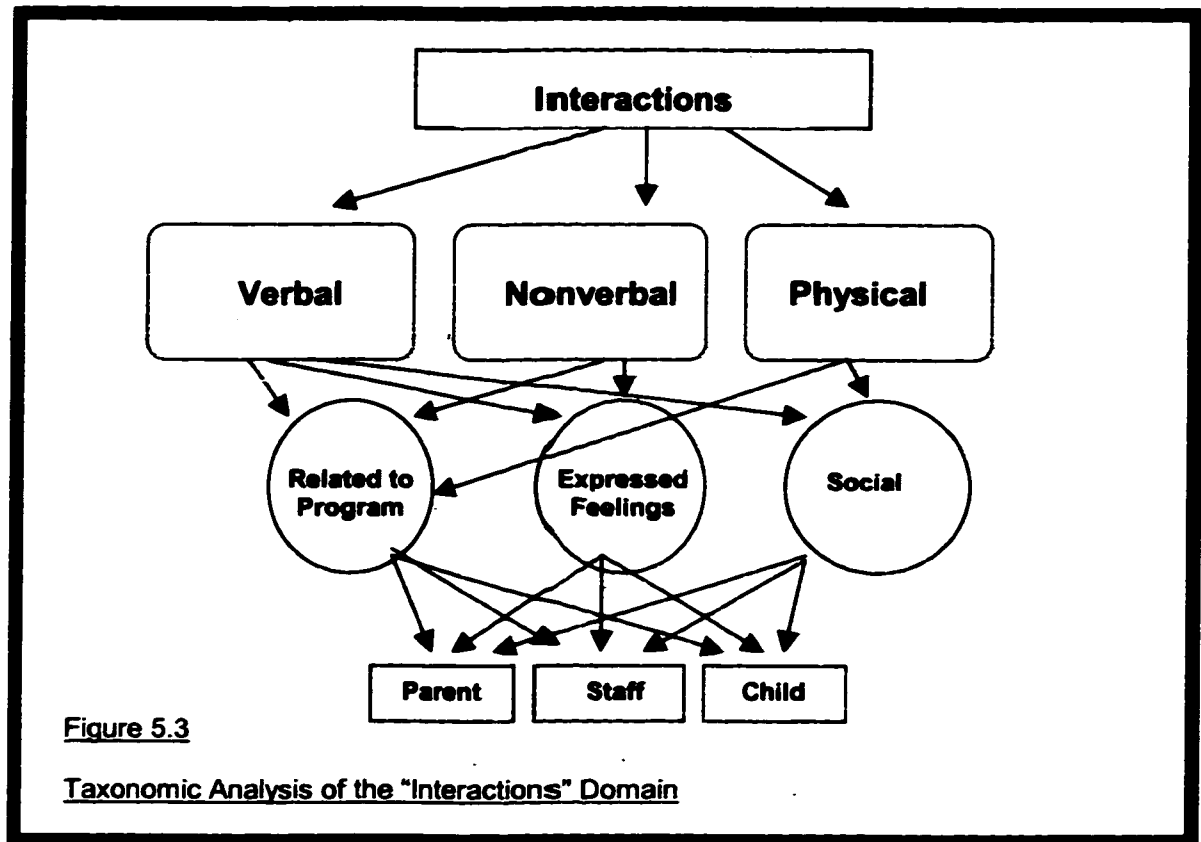
"We love PACT (parent and child together) time. It's the best thing we do here."

Location for activities is the physical place where actions took place. Locations consisted of areas where only parents worked, where parents worked with children, and places other than those encompassed by the Family Literacy Program.

Interactions. Interactions between adults, children, and staff members were the second major category of the taxonomic analysis. Interactions were subdivided into verbal, nonverbal, and physical interactions. Under these three categories, there were interactions related to the program and social interactions. Verbal and nonverbal interactions had an additional category of expressed feelings (Figure 5.3).

Verbal interactions were words that were spoken from one person to another person, while nonverbal interactions consisted of one person performing a type of gesture to another person. Persons could be a parent, a family literacy staff member, or a child. Verbal and

nonverbal interactions were further subdivided into subcategories of related to program and social. Verbal interactions also included an additional subcategory of social.



Verbal interactions specifically related to the program consisted of verbal messages from one person to another where the content of the message was concerning an aspect of the Family Literacy Program. Observed verbal interactions could be parent to parent, parent to staff, parent to child, child to parent, child to child, child to staff, staff to parent, staff to child, or staff to staff. In these types of interactions, the message goes from the first person to the second person. Once again, the content of the message is related to the Family Literacy Program.

Examples of these types of interactions taken from field note observations may be used to further explain the subcategories.

"Where did that answer come from?" one parent asked another parent while completing a writing assignment in the literacy program.

"Susie (pseudonym) was singing the Humpty Dumpty song last night in the tub. She made the soap be Humpty Dumpty and the shampoo bottles were the King's horses and men. The stuff she comes up with, I tell you," a parent shares with a literacy staff member.

The last example incorporates the following interactions: parent to child, child to parent, staff to parent and staff to child. This is a typical interaction example which occurred during Parent and Child Together time. "Which color would you like to use for your picture?" a parent asks a child. The child replies, "I want to use a purple." The parent responds, "You can't color the sky purple, the sky is blue." A family literacy staff intervenes, "Mom, you never saw a purple sky? Purple is a different color for the sky," the staff member states looking at Mom then turns to the child and says, "what color is purple? Can you show me the purple color?"

Verbal interactions also included social interactions. Social interactions were verbal interactions from parent to parent, parent to staff, staff to parent, or staff to staff, that were unrelated to the content under study in the Family Literacy Program. Such interactions consisted of personal questions about daily life activities, personal happenings, or other areas of interest outside the direct content of the Family Literacy Program. Such interactions were common when parents were walking into the Family Literacy Program at the beginning of the session. These interactions were often initiated by staff, as a staff member would inquire, "Hi Mrs. Smith (pseudonym). How was your weekend?" The parent would reply with a comment or story of what had transpired. Staff members always listened attentively and supported the parent. Parents would also engage in social verbal interactions during family literacy lessons. Often, when parents were given activities to complete, they would socialize while working on the activity. Conversations centered around children, an occurrence at the housing complex, the fact that the washateria was out of order again, or other common social interests.

Nonverbal interactions were similar to that of verbal interactions, except with the use of gestures instead of the spoken word. Nonverbal interactions were found to be related to the program or social. Parents often displayed social, nonverbal interactions at the beginning of the Family Literacy Program, as they hugged other parents, staff members, or the children. An observed nonverbal interaction related to the program, which was observed on several

occassions, was when one parent “high-fived” (one parent raising the palm of her hand in the air and slapping the palm of another parent in midair) another parent when a question was answered correctly, a task was completed, or another type of activity or goal was completed.

Expressed feelings are verbal interactions where an individual expresses to another individual an emotion that he/she is experiencing. This type of verbal interaction was prompted by the particular situation in which the parent, child, or family literacy staff member found themselves. Expressed feelings were conveyed from parents, children, or family literacy staff members to parents, children, or family staff members. Table 5.4 lists the different combinations of expressed feelings recorded. Of the multiple combinations listed in Table 5.4 expressed feelings from parents to children, and from parents to parents, revealed the most information about the program.

Expressed feelings from parents to parents were recorded throughout the observations. These feelings provided insight concerning the opinions, attitudes, or dispositions of parents with regard to the current situation or activity. Parents often expressed positive feelings to staff members with regard to the Family Literacy Program. “[Child’s name] really liked the book we made last week. She asks me to read it over, over, and over again. When will we make another one? She wants to make one on pigs.”

Parents expressed feelings of concern and solicited advice from family literacy staff members with regard to their children. “[Child’s name] is not holding his pencil right. What can I do to teach him at home?” “[Child’s name] mixes up all her colors. What colors should I teach her first?”

However, when parents spoke to other parents, they used different words and phrases, as well as issues. “How you taught [Child’s name] to count to 10?” “Show [speaking to another parent] [Child’s name] how to hold that pencil the right way. She hold it all wrong. I show her over and over and she still don’t hold it right. Show her like you showed [Child’s name – other parent’s child].”

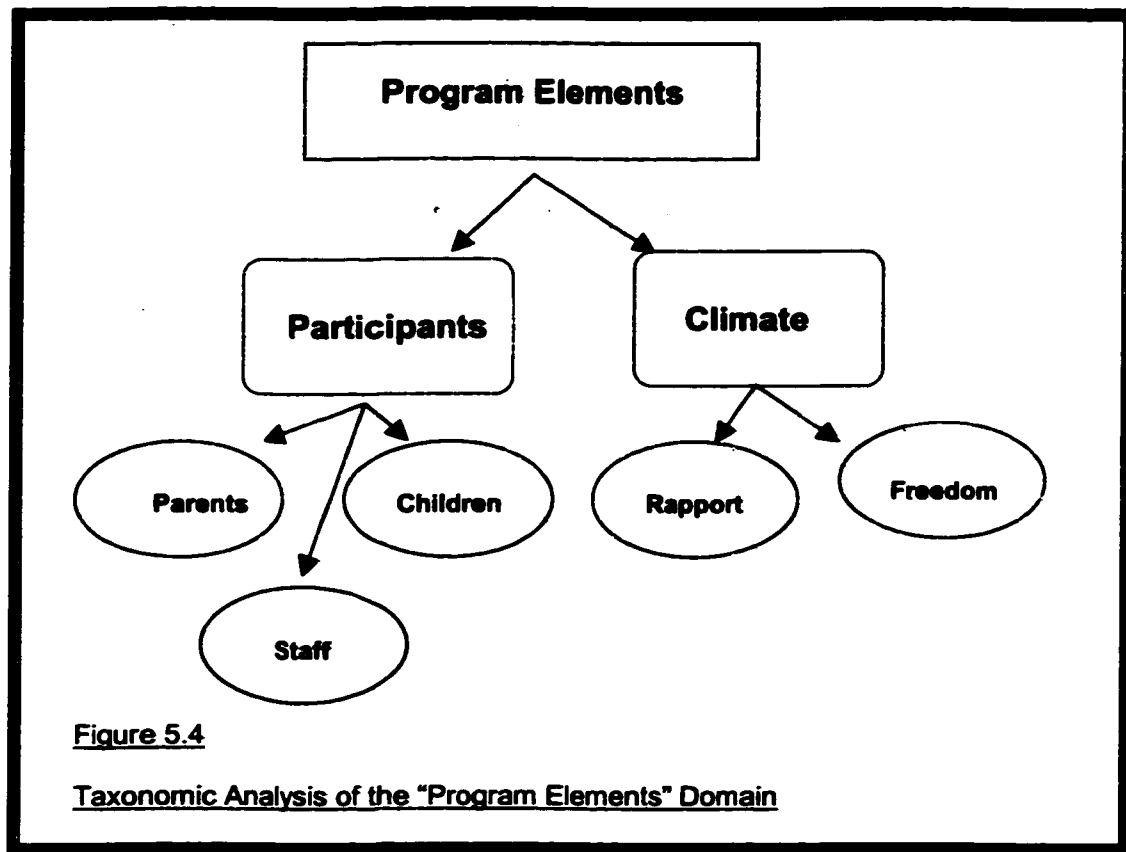
Program Elements. Program elements consisted of the participants and the climate of the program (see Figure 5.4). Participants consisted of parents, children, and family literacy

staff members. The Climate consisted of the rapport between family literacy staff members, parents and children and the freedom which exists within the climate of the Family Literacy Program.

Program Elements impacted the other two categories of activities and interactions. Participants were observed to display different interactions depending on other individuals in the room at the same time, which was part of the program elements. The following excerpt from field notes illustrates this point:

"Sandra (pseudonym) interacts well with child. Use of descriptive language. Allows child to initiate activities – 'What color do you want to paint the pumpkin? 'That's a pretty purple pumpkin. Boy, I've never seen one quite like that (parent laughs)."

Sandra is interacting differently today. Seems preoccupied with talking to Mona (pseudonym for a parent). Hands child crayon to color scarecrow. 'I want the blue color' the child says. 'No, No, paint with the green one. Green is much prettier for a scarecrow,' replies Sandra – continues conversation with Mona."



Such differences in interaction patterns were noticed within the Family Literacy Program and outside of the Family Literacy Program. Parents were observed to use descriptive language more often within the Family Literacy Program and to be more directive outside of the Family Literacy Program. Parents were also observed allowing their child to initiate activities inside the Family Literacy Program more often than outside the Family Literacy Program.

The climate of the Family Literacy Program was observed to impact activities within the Family Literacy Program. Family Literacy staff members, parents, and children were observed to have positive rapport with each other. The Family Literacy staff members allowed parents the freedom to come and go as they pleased. Parents often picked up work if they had a previous obligation so that they could complete the work at home. Family Literacy staff members were also encouraging and supportive of the endeavors the parents were undertaking.

Parents also enjoyed the freedom of deciding which activities they were to complete. The climate of the Family Literacy Program was unrestrictive and accepting, which encouraged parental attendance. Parents were allowed to "come and go" as they needed. Several parents had obligations which did not allow them to remain in the Family Literacy Program for the entire scheduled time.

Componential Analysis Based on Selected Observation Data

A componential analysis (Spradley, 1979, p. 130) is a systematic process searching for attributes associated within and across domains. The componential analysis is a way to determine "units of meaning" within the collected data. The taxonomies developed in the previous taxonomic analysis (see Table 5.4) are the starting points for the componential analysis. In order to explain componential analysis, Spradley (1979, p. 135) generated paradigm worksheets listing the categories in each domain down the left-hand column and the contrast phrases (parents and children who have been in the Family Literacy Program less than six months, parents and children who have been in the program 6 months to a year, and parents and children who have been in the program more than a year) across the top. This worksheet was to be used during selected observations to guide data collection and obtain missing data to complete each category of the domain.

While completing the componential analysis during the last observation at the first family literacy site, the researcher noted a pattern in the behavior and interaction of various parents. The researcher noticed that the parents who had been in the Family Literacy Program longer were much more interactive with their children, staff and other adults. These parents also guided the newer parents and assisted them with activities. The parents who had been in the program longer explained the schedule to the newer parents, as well as, "how things worked."

Parents new to the program were more shy. They interacted with their child, staff and other adults but not at the same level as the parents who had been in the program longer. The newer parents also did not dialog with their child as much as the parents who had been there longer.

Thus, the componential analysis uncovered a "process" associated with parental involvement in a Family Literacy Program. Table 5.5 summarizes the stages of a theory which evolved from further consideration of the "process" uncovered through the componential analysis. This theory is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6 and elaborated through the use of a metaphor for added understanding.

Table 5.5

Stages of Parental Involvement in a Family Literacy Program

Stage 1: Investigation

Parent hears about the Family Literacy Program and begins to seek information.

Parent attends a session of the Family Literacy Program and decides, "Do I want to come back?"

Stage 2: Toe Dipping

Parent returns to the Family Literacy Program.

Parent takes an interest in the Family Literacy Program.

Parent is deciding, "Do I like this?" "Will this help me? Is this information useful?"

Stage 3: Step and Stand

Parent has decided to attend the Family Literacy Program on a regular basis.

Parent begins to focus on specific individual needs and goals.

Parent questions, "Am I meeting my family/individual goals?"

"Is the Family Literacy Program providing me with relevant information I can use in my life?"

Stage 4: Wading

Parent is meeting individual and family goals.

Parent assists parents new to the program.

Parent initiates interaction with staff, adults and child.

Low-literate parents in a Family Literacy Program allow their children choices and opportunities to initiate activities. The types of activities and the frequency with which parents allow their children to initiate activities varies according to the time the parent has spent in the Family Literacy Program. Parents who have been in the program for a short time tend to limit the choices and opportunities to initiate activities for their children. As parents remain in the program over a longer period of time, the choices and the number of opportunities the parent allows the child to initiate activities increases.

Study Question 2

What activities do high-participating, low literate parents report as being related to their children's education as opposed to low-participating, low literate parents?

Data for Study Question 2 was collected from the 40 Parent Individual Interviews and the Parent Focus Group Interviews. There were 20 high-participation and 20 low participation parents. Questions 11 and 13 of the "Parent Individual Interview Protocol" provided data for Study Question 2 in an open-response format. The questions are as follows:

11. What activities do you complete with your child that you feel will help him in school?
13. Define the term parental involvement.

The responses to the above questions were unitized and categorized according to Lincoln and Guba's (1985) version of the Constant Comparative Method. The number of open-ended responses for each category was counted to determine the magnitude for that response.

Responses to question 11 were divided into several categories of activities: academic, social/religious, motor development, life skills, and advice. Since this question was a open-response item, parents stated several reasons that incorporated more than one category of response (see Table 5.6).

Responses to Parent Interview question 13 were divided into two categories of visible and invisible parental involvement. Visible parental involvement consists of activities the parent performs on the school campus or at a school event which positively impacts their child's education. Invisible parental involvement consists of activities that a parent performs outside the

physical environment of the school that positively impacts their child's education. As with Parent Interview question 11, this question had an open-ended response format, so parent responses could include more than one category. Table 5.6 lists the responses for Study Question 2.

Table 5.6

Frequency Distribution of Responses to Parent Individual Interview Questions 11 and 13

	Steeple Chase		Park Place		Total Section 8		Terrace Heights		Central Village		Total Public		Total	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Activities:														
Academic	17	15	9	12	26	27	12	8	9	7	21	15	47	42
Social/Religious	2	8	7	8	9	16	3	3	2	3	5	6	14	22
Motor	1	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
Life Skills	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	6	2	9	2	9
Advice	0	0	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
Totals	20	23	22	20	42	43	15	14	13	16	28	30	70	74
Parental Involvement:														
Visible	4	5	4	3	8	8	4	5	2	5	6	10	14	18
Invisible	1	0	1	2	2	2	3	0	3	0	6	0	8	2
Totals	5	5	5	5	10	10	7	5	5	5	12	10	22	20

The response categories for Parent Interview question 11 were formed to reflect the content of the parents' responses. The academic responses included ideas and activities that were related to the "academics" of school. Activities such as "read every night, help with homework, teaching numbers and alphabet, identifying colors, and talking to teacher," were responses listed under the academics category.

The social/religious response category included parents' responses centering on children learning to get along with others and activities related to church or a religious affiliation. Responses included under this category included, "read the Bible every night, talk about problems, spend time with him, make gifts for friends, watching T.V., community activities, and teaching prayers."

The motor development response category included responses where children's physical development was encouraged. Parental responses in this category included, "outside play, ride, run, walk, and teaching children gymnastics."

The life skills category responses were activities that taught children to be independent and to take care of their surroundings. Responses in this category included, "washing the dishes, ironing clothes, and training her to be a leader."

The last category "advice" included responses in which the parents gave their children "words of wisdom." This occurred at only one site with one parent. Advice included "we don't know what we come into this world with, so if you smart you get all the education you can get."

Table 5.7 presents a summary of responses for Parent Individual Interview Questions 11. Of the total 143 parental responses, 62% (89 responses) indicated that they used academically oriented activities to prepare their children for school. However, there was a difference when comparing responses of parents residing in Section 8 and Public Housing (see Table 5.6). This difference involves the low-participation parents residing in the Public Housing where only 50% of their responses were academically oriented. This compares to 65% of the responses among the other three groups (high-participation Section 8, low-participation Section 8, and high-participation Public Housing).

Table 5.7

Summary of Responses for Parental Activities Related to Child's Education

Activity:	High-Participation Parent	Low Participation Parent	Total
Academic	47 (67%)	42 (58%)	89 (62%)
Social/Religious	14 (20%)	22 (30%)	36 (25%)
Motor Development	3 (4%)	0 (0%)	3 (2%)
Life Skills	2 (3%)	9 (12%)	11 (8%)
Advice	4 (6%)	0 (0%)	4 (3%)
Total	70 (100%)	74 (100%)	143 (100%)

Social/religious activities received 25% of the total parental responses ranking it the second most frequently response indicated by parents. These responses were more common among the low-participation parents (30% of parental responses) as compared to high-participation parents (20% of parental responses).

The remaining three activities of motor development, life skills, and advice received mixed frequencies of parental responses for high-participation and low-participation parents. Low-participation parents (12% of the total for low-participation parents) indicated life skills as the third most important activity to prepare their child for school, while high-participation parents (6% of the total for high-participation parents) indicated advice as the third activity.

Parental responses for Parent Interview Question 13 were categorized into visible parental involvement or invisible parental involvement. These three categories were developed based on the "visibility" of the parent at school.

Visible parental involvement included activities where parents were at school, assisting the teacher, or assisting on field trips. This type of parental involvement brings the parent to the school or a school function. The activity the parent performs while at this function may or may not be related to their child; or any child's, education. Responses in this category included "visit the teacher and ask her questions, check my child's homework, volunteer at school, go into the class and watch what is going on, go to school to sit in class, let the teacher help me help my child, join the PTA, tutor my child, and help my child get ahead in studies."

Invisible parental involvement included activities where parents assisted their child, taught or tutored their child, and showed concern in other areas of development but did not enter the school campus to complete these activities. Responses classified as invisible parental involvement included, "get more involved in my child's education, spend time with my child even if it is not homework, get involved with things that go on in my child's life, ask if my child is doing O.K., and being there 100%."

Responses for Parent Individual Interview Question 13 provided evidence that 76% of high-participation and low-participation parents indicated activities which were "visible" parental involvement (see Table 5.8). However, 36% of the high-participation parents indicated "invisible" parental involvement activities where only 10% of the low-participation parents indicated "invisible" parental involvement.

Table 5.8**Types of Parental Involvement Responses**

	High-Participation Parents	Low-Participation Parents	Total
Visible	14 (64%)	18 (90%)	32 (76%)
Invisible	8 (36%)	2 (10%)	10 (24%)
Total	22 (100%)	20 (100%)	44 (100%)

A parent focus group interview was held at each site for high-participating and low-participating parents. The question "what is parental involvement?" was asked to each focus group. Parents were asked to write responses on a flip chart or to verbalize responses and someone would write it for them. Responses from the focus group revealed no new information, but confirmed responses from parent individual interviews.

Study Question 3

What activities do teachers in Family Literacy Programs report as effective parental practices in children's education?

Questions 1 and 4 of The "Family Literacy Staff Interview Protocol" (see Table 3.5) were used to collect data for Study Question 3. Question 1 of the "Family Literacy Staff Interview Protocol" asked what activities staff members thought parents could do to prepare their children for school. Question 4 of the "Family Literacy Staff Interview Protocol" asked staff members to define the term parental involvement. Eight staff members were interviewed individually utilizing an open-response format to answer the above two questions. Responses for the questions were unitized and categorized according to the categories developed for Study Question 2 (see Table 5.9). Eight family literacy staff members responded to Family Literacy Staff Interview Questions 1 and 4. Family Literacy Staff interview question 1 had 27 responses, or units of information (UOI), and question 4 had 13 units of information.

The responses from the family literacy staff members consisted of longer responses than that of the parents. Staff members also gave several examples to illustrate their answer. Of the 27 units of information presented in Table 5.9 for Study Question 2, 8 UOI (30% of the total UOI given by family literacy staff members) indicated that academics, motor, and life skills

were each regarded by every staff member as good activities to prepare children for school. Three family literacy staff members responded with social/religious activities.

Table 5.9		
Results from Family Literacy Staff Individual Interview Regarding Study Question 2		
	Number of Responses	Percentage of Responses*
Activities:		
Academic	8	30%
Social/Religious	3	11%
Motor	8	30%
Life Skills	8	30%
Advice	0	0%
Total	27	100%
Parental Involvement:		
Visible	5	38%
Invisible	8	62%
Total	13	100%

Note. *Totals may not add to 100% due to rounding

In defining the term parental involvement, 8 of the 13 (62%) UOI given by the family literacy staff members were "invisible" types of parental involvement. Visible parental involvement received 5 of the 13 (38%) UOI.

Data for Study Question 3 indicates that family literacy staff report academic, motor, and life skills activities as the most effective parental practices to prepare children for school. Family literacy staff members also recognize both visible and invisible types of parental involvement but indicate by a ratio of 8:5 that invisible types of parental involvement are important to a child's preparation for school.

Study Question 4

Is there a difference in the availability and use of educational materials in the home of high-participating, low-literate parents and that of low-participating, low-literate parents?

There were five questions on the "Parent Individual Interview Protocol" used to gather data to answer Study Question 4. All 40 parents (20 high-participation parents and 20 low-participation parents) responded to the five questions on the "Parent Individual Interview

Protocol.” Question 7 of the “Parent Individual Interview Protocol” presented parents with a list of items which people may write. The parents indicated whether or not they had written any of the items in the past week. Question 8 of the “Parent Individual Interview Protocol” presented parents with a list of items that people may read. The parents indicated which items they had read in the past week. If a parent indicated they had completed the item, that item received a value of “1”. Values for each item were totaled (horizontal values), as well as for each site (vertical values). Table 5.10 lists the responses for these two questions by site.

Parent responses to the above questions show differences in the reading and writing exposure between high-participation and low-participation parents. High-participation parents made 141 (81%) of the total “writing” responses, while low-participation parents made 34 (19%) of total “writing” responses. Each of the high-participation parents made an average of 7.0 writing responses (141/20). Each of the low-participation parents made an average of 1.7 writing responses (34/20). Examining the responses reveals little differences among the high-participation group of parents at each site (responses range from 31 to 40) and the low-participation group of parents at each site (responses range from 7 to 13).

Parent responses to the reading items followed the same trend as the writing items but with higher values. High-participation parents made 193 (64%) of the total “reading” responses, while low-participation parents made 107 (36%) of the total “reading” responses. The high-participation parents made an average of 9.7 reading responses (193/20). The low-participation parents made an average of 5.4 reading responses (107/20). The responses for high-participation parents per site ranged from 38 to 55, while the responses for low-participation parents per site ranged from 21 to 30.

In comparing “writing and reading” responses of Section 8 housing (Steeple Chase and Park Place) to the public housing (Terrace Heights and Central Village), the parents residing in Section 8 housing tended to engage in more reading and writing activities as their responses indicate. Table 5.10 indicates that Section 8 housing parents made 89 (51%) of the 175 total “written” responses and 170 (57%) of the total “read” responses

Table 5.10**Parental Responses for Items Parents Have Read or Written in the Past Week:
Questions 7 and 8 of the "Parent Individual Interview Protocol"**

	SECTION 8				PUBLIC HOUSING				
	Steeple Chase		Park Place		Terrace Heights		Central Village		
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	Total
Items Written:									
Checks	3	2	3	0	4	1	5	2	20
Notes	4	2	5	2	4	2	2	1	22
Recipes	2	0	3	3	1	2	2	1	14
Forms	4	0	3	2	4	2	3	1	19
Appointments on Calendar	4	0	4	0	3	1	4	1	17
Letters	3	0	3	0	2	2	3	1	14
Stories	4	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	13
Greeting cards	5	0	5	0	4	0	3	0	17
Puzzles	3	0	1	0	4	0	1	0	9
Grocery lists	5	3	3	0	4	3	2	0	20
Journal	3	0	2	0	2	0	3	0	10
Total High	40		35		35		31		141
Total Low		7		7		13		7	34
Total Site	47		42		48		38		175
Items Read:									
Advertisements in mail	5	5	5	4	5	4	5	5	38
Letters, bills	5	5	5	5	5	4	3	5	37
Coupons	4	5	3	4	5	4	3	2	30
Labels	5	5	3	4	5	4	2	2	30
Religious material	5	3	5	3	4	2	4	2	28
Instructions	3	2	3	2	3	0	1	2	16
Street signs	5	2	4	2	4	0	3	0	20
Newspaper	4	1	4	2	4	0	4	0	19
Notes from teacher	5	2	4	4	3	2	2	2	24
T.V. guide	5	0	5	2	4	0	2	1	19
Magazine	4	0	2	0	2	1	4	0	13
Books	4	0	3	2	4	1	3	0	17
Dictionary	3	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	7
Encyclopedia	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
Total High	58		48		49		38		193
Total Low		30		34		22		21	107
Total Site	88		82		71		59		300

The higher values for reading and writing received by high-participation parents could be attributed to the Family Literacy Program. The items receiving the highest total responses for writing were notes (22), checks (20), grocery list (20), and forms (19). The items receiving the highest total responses for reading were advertisements in the mail (38), bills and letters (37), coupons (30), and labels (30). These items are part of daily life for all families. The items increasing the responses for the high-participation parents were writing puzzles (9) and

journaling (10), or reading the encyclopedia (2) and dictionary (7). These items are found in the Family Literacy Program and often loaned or given to high-participation parents to take home for their use. Family Literacy adult education activities include journaling, letter writing, and learning to use reference skills. Thus, parents participating in the Family Literacy Program have access to this information and complete these activities as part of the program.

Question 12 of the "Parent Individual Interview Protocol" gathered data for Study Question 4. Parents were asked to indicate which items from a list were available in their home with which their children could play. If the item was available in the home, and the parent allowed the child to with that item, that item received a value of "1". Table 5.11 summarizes the responses.

Table 5.11									
Parental Responses to Children's Play Items: Question 12 of the "Parent Individual Interview Protocol"									
	SECTION 8				PUBLIC HOUSING				
	Steeple Chase		Park Place		Terrace Heights		Central Village		
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	Total
Crayons and paper	5	3	4	2	5	2	4	3	28
Scissors	3	1	3	0	1	0	3	0	11
Tape or paste	2	1	2	0	2	0	3	0	10
Puzzles	5	0	4	0	3	0	4	2	18
Old catalogs	4	0	3	0	3	0	5	2	17
Paint	5	0	3	0	3	0	4	0	15
Clay or Playdough	4	0	3	2	2	3	2	0	16
Put-together-toys	4	2	4	2	4	2	3	1	22
Yarn	1	2	3	0	1	0	2	0	9
Make believe toys	2	5	4	3	4	4	2	5	29
Plants	2	0	4	0	3	2	2	0	13
Pull toys	4	2	5	2	4	1	2	0	20
Rattles	3	2	4	2	3	1	3	0	18
Blocks	5	1	4	1	5	1	1	0	18
Total High	49		50		43		40		182 (75%)
Total Low		19		14		16		13	62 (25%)
Total Site	68		64		59		53		244

High-participation parents had more items within the home with which children could play, as they made 182 (75%) of the total 244 responses as compared to the 62 (25%) responses made by low-participation parents. Each of the high-participation parents had an

average of 9.1 items in their homes (182/20), compared to low-participation parents who had only 3.1 of these items in their home (62/20). The total responses for the high-participation parents ranged from 40 to 50, while the low-participation parents' total responses ranged from 13 to 19.

Parents residing in Section 8 housing (Steeple Chase and Park Place) made 68 and 64 responses respectively, totaling 132 (54%) of the total 244 responses. Parents residing in public housing (Terrace Heights and Central Village) made 59 and 53 responses respectively, totaling 112 (46%) of the total 244 responses. Therefore, parents in Section 8 housing had more items within the home with which children could play.

Results in Table 5.11 indicate that high-participation parents have more items available within the home with which their child can play. Several high-participation parents indicated that the Family Literacy Program gave them supplies to use at home with their children, thus increasing their access to these types of items when compared to low-participation parents. Items, such as scissors, scotch tape, paste, puzzles, old catalogs, paint, clay, and plants, were items few low-participation parents possessed which the Family Literacy Program readily dispensed. However, 12 of the high-participation parents' and 17 of the low-participation parents' children created make-believe toys. Although these numbers may not differ greatly, this may suggest that the low-participation parents' children had become creative in the absence of other play items.

Questions 9 and 10 of the "Parent Individual Interview Protocol" also gathered data for Study Question 4. Forty parents (20 high-participation and 20 low-participation parents) were asked if they had read any books in the past week, and, if so, how many. Parents were also asked if they read to their child, and, if so, how often. Table 5.12 summarizes parents' responses to these questions.

All of the 20 high-participation parents interviewed indicated they read for pleasure and read to their children on a regular basis. Fifteen of the 20 high-participation parents indicated they read to their child daily, 4 indicated they read to their child a minimum of twice a week, and 1 indicated she read to her child a minimum of once a month.

Table 5.12**Frequencies for Parents Who Read for Pleasure and Read to Their Children**

		SECTION 8				PUBLIC HOUSING					
		Steeple Chase		Park Place		Terrace Heights		Central Village		Total	
		High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
<hr/>											
Number of:											
Parents who read for Pleasure											
		5	0	5	2	5	2	5	0	20	4
Parents reading to Children											
Daily		4	0	5	1	5	2	1	0	15	3
Twice a Week		1	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	4	1
Once a Month		0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
<hr/>											
Total		5	0	5	1	5	2	5	1	20	4

Only four of the 20 low-participating parents indicated they read to their child on a regular basis. Three of these 4 parents indicated they read to their child on a daily basis and the remaining parent indicated she read to her child a minimum of twice a week.

These results could be influenced by the Family Literacy Program in that high-participation parents have readily available books to read for personal pleasure and to their children. Table 5.10 indicates that only 3 low-participation parents had books in the home compared to 14 high-participation parents who had books in the home. Also, high-participation parents received information on the importance of reading to children, as well as, the exposure and constant encouragement from the family literacy staff modeling this type of behavior.

There exists a difference in the availability and use of educational material in the homes of high-participation and low-participation parents. High-participation parents write more items and read more items, as Table 5.10 indicates. High-participation parents also make more materials readily available with which their children can play, as Table 5.11 indicates. High-participation parents also read for pleasure on a regular basis and read to their children on a regular basis (see Table 5.12).

Study Question 5

Do low-literate, high-participating parents hold different present and future educational expectations for themselves than those of low-literate, low participating parents?

Data for Study Question 5 was collected utilizing 6 questions from the "Parental Individual Interview Protocol". Question 1 gathered information on the highest level of education completed by the parent. Question 2 gathered information on the highest educational level the parent thought she would complete. Question 3 gathered information on the highest educational level parents' thought they must possess. Lastly, question 4 asked whether or not parents possessed or were pursuing any degrees or job-related certificates (see Table 5.13).

Of the 40 parents interviewed, 16 possessed a tenth grade education and 17 possessed an eleventh grade education. Five parents possessed a ninth grade education, 1 parent possessed a twelfth grade education, and 1 parent had completed a GED. These numbers indicate little disparity in the educational level of the sample of parents. The parent who completed high school attended the Family Literacy Program to work on test-taking skills in order that she would obtain a high score on the entrance exam for trade school. However, when comparing high-participation parents to low-participation parents, 13 of high-participation parents possessed an eleventh grade education or higher, while only 6 low-participation parents possessed an eleventh grade education. No low-participation parents possessed an educational level above the eleventh grade (see Table 5.13).

In addition to the highest grade level attained by the parents, parents were asked the reason they did not complete high school. All 40 parents stated one of three reasons: "got pregnant and had no babysitter," "had to work to support my family [not pregnant]," or "peer pressure" (see Table 5.14). Thirty (75%) of the 40 parents did not complete school because they were pregnant or had a baby and no babysitter. Of these thirty parents, 18 (60%) were low-participation parents and 12 (40%) were high-participation parents.

Four high-participation parents quit high school in order to work to help support their family, as compared to 2 low-participation parents. One of the 4 high-participation parent stated

she got married in the twelfth grade and was not pregnant. After she was married, she needed to go to work to help "pay the family bills."

Table 5.13

Parental Present and Future Educational Expectations

	SECTION 8				PUBLIC HOUSING					
	Steeple Chase		Park Place		Terrace Heights		Central Village		Total	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Q1: Highest grade level Completed:										
Less than 8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grade 9	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	2	3
Grade 10	2	4	1	2	0	2	2	3	5	11
Grade 11	3	1	3	3	3	0	2	2	11	6
Grade 12	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
GED	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Trade School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Q2: Highest educational level Think will complete:										
GED	2	3	0	3	3	2	4	2	9	10
Trade School	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
Associate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bachelor	2	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	5	0
Graduate	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	3	0
Not Going Any Further	0	1	0	2	0	3	0	3	0	9
Q3: Highest educational level Must have:										
GED	2	2	0	2	2	5	4	3	8	12
Trade School	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	3
Associate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bachelor	2	3	5	1	2	0	1	1	10	5
Graduate	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Q4: Possess any diplomas or Job-related certificates:										
Yes	2	0	3	5	1	3	0	3	6	11
No	3	5	2	0	4	2	5	2	16	9
Q5: Currently working toward:										
Certificate	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	2	3	3
GED	4	0	4	0	4	0	4	0	14	9
Q6: Would you like to obtain a:										
Certificate	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	2
GED	5	2	4	3	4	2	4	2	17	9
Trade School	2	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	6	1
Associate	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Bachelor	2	1	1	0	3	0	1	0	7	1
Graduate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 5.14**Reasons Parents Did Not Complete High School**

	High-Participation Parents	Low-Participation Parents	Total
Pregnant	12 (60%)	18 (90%)	30 (75%)
Work	4 (20%)	2 (10%)	6 (15%)
Peer Pressure	4 (20%)	0 (0%)	4 (10%)

Questions 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 of the "Parent Individual Interview Protocol" addressed parental expectations for Study Question 5. These questions addressed expectations of parents for their educational level. (see Table 5.13).

High-participation parents' indicated a higher expectation for their "highest educational level they think they will complete" when compared to the responses of low-participation parents'. Twelve high-participation parents indicated they would complete a GED or attend Trade School while 11 low-participation parents indicated the same. The remaining 9 low-participation parents indicated they would not go any further than their current educational level. Eight high-participation parents indicated they would attend college and obtain either a bachelor or graduate degree.

Question 3 of the "Parent Individual Interview Protocol" asked parents to indicate the "highest educational level an individual must possess to be successful in society." Parental responses indicate high-participation parents possess higher expectations than low-participation parents. Nine high-participation parents, as compared to 15 low-participation parents, indicated that a GED or Trade School was sufficient education in today's society. Eleven high-participation parents, as compared to 5 low-participation parents, indicated that attending college for a bachelor or graduate degree is the level of education an individual must have to be successful in society.

In comparing responses for parents residing in Section 8 Housing and public housing, parents residing in Section 8 housing indicated individuals must have higher levels of education. Eleven parents residing in Section 8 Housing indicated that individuals must possess either a Bachelor or Graduate degree to be successful in society. Five parents residing in public housing indicated that a college degree was needed to be successful in society.

Question 4 of the "Parent Individual Interview Protocol" asked parents to indicate if they possessed any job-related certificates or diplomas. Eleven low-participation parents possessed job-related certificates or diplomas which exceeded the six high-participation parents possessing the same. However, parental responses for question 5 indicated that sixteen of the high-participation parents were currently working on a GED, while there were no low-participation parents working toward a GED. The responses did not differ greatly according to the residential housing of the parents.

Question 6 of the "Parent Individual Interview Protocol" asked parents to indicate the "level of education they would like to obtain." Parental responses did not differ greatly by residential housing; however, responses did differ by participation level. Eighteen high-participation parents indicated the desire to achieve a certificate or GED while almost half this number (11) indicated the same among low-participation parents. Only 1 low-participation parent indicated the desire for a college education, compared to 8 high-participation parents who indicated a desire for a college degree.

Document analysis was utilized to analyze the "Personal/Adult Education Goals" from Section C of the registration form for the Family Literacy Program. All 26 documents were from high-participation parents. The responses listed by parents on the goals sheet were analyzed utilizing Lincoln and Guba's (1985) unitizing and categorizing procedure (see Table 5.15). Some parents' responses contained more than one categorized goal which was divided into multiple units of information (UOI).

Document analysis indicated that 54% of parents participating in the Family Literacy Program, who completed Section C of the registration form, had the goal of obtaining a GED (11 total parents or 24%) or increasing academic skills (14 total parents or 30%).

Table 5.15**Results of Document Analysis for Study Question 5: Units of Information for Parent's Personal/Adult Goal Sheet for High-Participation Parents Only**

Categorized Goal:	Park Place	Steeple Chase	Total Section 8	Terrace Heights	Central Village	Total Public	Total
Obtain GED	4	2	6 (26%)	3	2	5 (22%)	11 (24%)
Learn computer skills	6	1	7 (30%)	2	5	7 (30%)	14 (30%)
Increase academic skills	1	1	2 (9%)	1	1	2 (9%)	4 (9%)
Get a job	0	1	1 (4%)	2	1	3 (13%)	4 (9%)
Get a better job	0	0	0 (0%)	2	1	3 (13%)	3 (7%)
Obtain transportation	0	0	0 (0%)	1	1	2 (9%)	2 (3%)
Parenting skills	2	0	2 (9%)	0	1	1 (4%)	3 (7%)
Learn about early childhood	3	1	4 (18%)	0	0	0 (0%)	4 (9%)
Stay drug-free	1	0	1 (4%)	0	0	0 (0%)	1 (2%)
Totals	17	6	23 (100%)	11	12	23(100%)	46(100%)

The analysis for Section 8 housing and Public housing revealed the same trend in goals within these two categories. Fifty-six percent of parents residing in Section 8 housing and 52% of parents residing in Public housing listed goals of either obtaining a GED or increasing academic skills. Differences in the two housing sites, however, were found in goals listed for "getting a better job," "getting a job," or "obtaining transportation." Thirty-five percent of parents residing in public housing listed these goals while 27% of parents residing in Section 8 housing listed goals for parenting and learning about early childhood education.

Parent responses to the "Parent Personal Interview" and "Document Analysis" evidence a difference in the present and future educational expectations between high-participation and low-participation parents. High-participation parents indicated expectations for the completion of higher educational levels and a greater desire for college education than that of low-participation parents. High-participation parents also indicated a desire to learn about parenting skills and early childhood education while low-participation parents indicated a desire to learn skills to get a job, a better job, or to acquire transportation. High-participation parents also indicate they are working toward a certificate or diploma while over half of the low-participation parents possess some type of certificate or job-related diploma.

Again, these findings could be influenced by participation in the Family Literacy Program as high-participation parent are exposed to parenting classes, child development information, and share parenting concerns with other parents. This could produce an increased awareness of these issues which may impact the data for question 5.

Eleven of the 20 low-participation (55%) indicated they possessed a job-related certificate or diploma (see Table 6.13). Although specific data on employment was not collected for this study, several of these parents expressed during the parent individual interview that they were employed. This could explain the low-participation parents' greater concern with acquiring transportation or getting a better job.

Study Question 6

Do low-literate, high-participating parents hold different present and future educational expectations for their children than that of low-literate, low-participating parents?

Data collection for Study Question 6 utilized the following five questions from the "Parent Individual Interview Protocol" to collect data for parental educational expectations for their children:

14. When your child starts school, what grade to you expect him/her to receive in most subjects? A B+ B C+ C D+ D F
15. What grade would satisfy you? A B+ B C+ C D+ D F
16. How far do you think your child will go in school?
 - won't finish high school
 - will graduate from high school but won't go any further
 - will go to vocational, trade, or business school after high school
 - will enter the military after high school
 - will graduate from college
 - will attend graduate school after college
 - don't know
17. What kind of work do you think your child will do when he/she grows up?
18. What kind of work would you not like your child to do?

Parents' responses to question 14 of the "expected grades" and question 15 for the "satisfied grades" were an indication of future parental educational expectations for their children. Parents' stating "how far their child will go in school" for question 16 is also an indication of future parental educational expectations for their children. Parents' responses were calculated, and the results are listed in Table 5.16.

Table 5.16 indicates that there is a difference in the future educational expectations of high-participation parents and low-participation parents. While all 40 parents in the sample, both high-participation and low-participation parents, expected their child's grades to be no less than a "C" when the child began school, 10 low-participating parents (50%) as compared to only 3 high-participation parents (15%) stated that a "C" was expected. One high-participating parent indicated that an "A" was expected, while no low-participating parents indicated this expectation. Fourteen high-participating parents (70%) expected either a "B" or "B+" while 10 low-participating parents (50%) expected the same. Thus, high-participation parents indicated higher "expected grades" for when their child entered school than low-participation parents.

Satisfaction with grades also differed among the high-participation and low-participation groups. Once again, neither group of parents would be satisfied with grades lower than a "C". However, all low-participation parents (100%) indicated they would be satisfied with either a "C" or "C+" . Ten high-participation parents (50%) stated a grade of "C" or "C+" would satisfy them. Six high-participation parents (30%) responded that a grade of "B" or "B+" would be satisfactory. Four high-participating parents (20%) stated a grade of "A" would bring them satisfaction. However, only 3 high-participation parents (15%) expected their child to receive an "A," and one high-participation parent would be satisfied with a higher grade than was expected.

Differences also existed in the amount of education the high-participation and low-participation parents expected their child to attain. All parents expected their children to finish high school. Fifteen of the 20 (75%) low-participation parents and three of the 20 (15%) high-participation parents stated high school would be the highest level of education attained by their child. Three low-participation parents (15%) and only 1 high-participation parent (5%) expected their child to complete vocational or trade school. Two low-participation parents (10%) and one

high-participation parent (5%) stated their children would enter the military. All three of these parents had either an older child or a family member enlisted in the military.

Table 5.16

Parental Future Expectations for Their Children

	Park Place		Steeple Chase		Terrace Heights		Central Village		Total	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Q14: Expected Grades										
A	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	3	0
B+	0	0	2	0	3	3	2	0	7	3
B	4	0	2	3	1	2	0	2	7	7
C+	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	2	3
C	1	5	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	7
D+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Q15: Satisfied With										
A	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	4	0
B+	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	4	0
B	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
C+	0	0	2	0	1	3	2	5	5	8
C	5	5	0	5	0	2	0	0	5	12
D+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Q16: How Far Child Will Go										
Won't finish High School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Graduate High School	0	4	0	3	1	3	2	5	3	15
Vocational, Trade School	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	3
Military	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1
College; Not Graduate	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
College Graduate	2	0	1	0	3	1	3	0	9	1
Graduate School	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	0

Eleven high-participation parents (55%) expected their children to attend college but only 9 (45%) expected their children to attain a college degree. One low-participation parent expected her child to also complete college. No low-participation parents expected their children to go beyond an undergraduate degree, while 3 high-participation parents expected their children to attend and complete graduate school.

Parental responses to the question "how far their child would go in school" produced another interesting finding. Of the high-participation parents, one parent at Steeple Chase, 3 parents at Terrace Heights, and 2 parents at Central Village indicated their child would go "all the way." This term was not used among the low-participation parents. When asked to define

or explain what "all the way" meant, 4 responded that "all the way" meant a college degree. The remainder of the two parents stated that "all the way" was the completion of high school.

Differences were also found among high-participation parents and low-participation parents when grouped according to residence. Table 5.17 disaggregates the data into Section 8 and Public Housing.

Parents residing in Public Housing stated they expected higher grades than parents residing in Section 8 Housing. Fifteen Public Housing parents, as opposed to 12 Section 8 Housing parents, stated they expected a minimum grade of "B" (includes "A," "B+," and "B"). Eight parents residing in Section 8 Housing stated a grade of "C" or "C+" was expected while 5 parents residing in Public Housing agreed.

Parents residing in Public Housing also had higher "satisfaction grades" than parents residing in Section 8 Housing. Although these numbers do not show as large a disparity as above, three parents residing in Section 8 as opposed to 7 parents residing in Public Housing stated they would be satisfied with a grade of "B" or higher. Also, 11 parents residing in Public Housing stated a "high C or C+" would be a satisfactory grade while only 2 parents in Section 8 Housing stated this as a level of satisfaction. Seventeen of the parents residing in Section 8 Housing, however, stated a "C" would be a satisfactory grade.

Parents residing in Public housing expected and were satisfied with higher grades for their children in school than parents residing in Section 8 housing. A total of 15 of the 20 (75%) parents in Public housing expected a grade of B or higher when their child entered school, as compared to a total of 12 of the 20 (60%) parents residing in Section 8 housing with the same expectations. However, parents residing in Public housing did not expect their child to receive as much education as did the parents residing in Section 8. Seven parents (35%) residing in Section 8 Housing, as compared to 11 parents (55%) residing in Public Housing, expected their children to only complete high school. Five parents residing in Section 8, as compared to 2 parents residing in Public Housing, expected their child to attend a vocational type school or enter into the military.

Table 5.17**Parental Future Education Expectations for Their Children: Section 8 and Public Housing Totals**

	Section 8			Public Housing		
	High	Low	Total*	High	Low	Total*
Q14: Expected Grades						
A	1	0	1 (5%)	2	0	2 (10%)
B+	2	0	2 (10%)	5	3	8 (40%)
B	6	3	9 (45%)	1	4	5 (25%)
C+	0	0	0 (0%)	2	3	5 (25%)
C	1	7	8 (40%)	0	0	0 (0%)
Q 15: Satisfied With						
A	0	0	0 (0%)	4	0	4 (20%)
B+	1	0	1 (5%)	3	0	3 (15%)
B	2	0	2 (10%)	0	0	0 (0%)
C+	2	0	2 (10%)	3	8	11 (55%)
C	5	10	15 (75%)	0	2	2 (10%)
Q 16: How Far Child Will Go						
Won't finish High School	0	0	0 (0%)	0	0	0 (0%)
Graduate High School	0	7	7 (35%)	3	8	11 (55%)
Vocational, Trade School	1	2	3 (15%)	0	1	1 (5%)
Military	1	1	2 (10%)	1	0	1 (5%)
College; Not Graduate	2	0	2 (10%)	0	0	0 (0%)
College Graduate	3	0	3 (15%)	6	1	7 (35%)
Graduate School	3	0	3 (15%)	0	0	0 (0%)

Note. *Percentage totals for each question are based on 20 parental responses

This disparity in future educational expectations continued as 40% of parents (7 parents) residing in Section 8 Housing expected their children to attend college compared to the 35% of parents (7 parents) residing in Public housing. Although 40% of parents residing in Section 8 Housing expected their children to attend college, only 30% of these parents expected their child to complete college. Fifteen percent of the parents residing in Section 8 housing expect their child to complete graduate school, while no parents residing in Public housing hold this expectation.

Data were also collected for parents' future educational expectations' as question 17 and 18 of the "Parental Individual Interview Protocol " asked each parent the types of work she did and did not want her child to do when she/he grew up. The results are listed in Table 5.18. Several parents did list more than one job which they would or would not want their child to perform.

Table 5.18**Parental Responses for Expectation's for Child's Future Employment**

	Section 8				Public Housing				Total	
	Park Place		Steeple Chase		Terrace Heights		Central Village			
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Q17: Jobs Child Will Do										
Nurse	1	1	2	1	2	1	0	0	5	3
Doctor	1	0	0	3	2	1	0	0	3	4
Police	1	3	0	2	1	3	1	1	3	9
Architect	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	2
Teacher	0	1	1	1	2	0	2	2	5	4
Don't know	1	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	5	1
Total Responses	5	5	5	8	7	5	5	5	22	23
Q18: Jobs Child Will Not Do										
Dancer	1	3	1	3	1	2	1	2	4	10
Prostitute	1	3	1	1	0	1	0	1	2	6
Drugs	0	3	1	1	1	1	1	4	3	9
Garbage Truck	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	4
Door Sales	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Fast Food	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Maid	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	2
Police/Firefighter	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	3	1
Don't know	0	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	5	0
Total Responses	6	10	6	8	5	5	5	9	21	32

Six of the forty parents indicated they did not know what their child would do when he/she grew up. Little difference was found between the high-participation and low-participation parent responses. Although the individual number of responses per job varies, 5 of the 6 jobs listed require a college education. Teachers (9 total responses), nurses (8 total responses), and doctors (7 total responses) were among the most popular responses. A larger disparity existed between the high-participation and low-participation parents, as 9 low-participation, in comparison to 3 high-participation parents, expected their child to be in the police force when the child was grown.

In comparing Table 5.17 to Table 5.18, a discrepancy is found. Thirteen of the twenty-two high-participation parent responses (59%) and eleven of the twenty-three low-participation parent responses (48%) included jobs which required a college education, such as a nurse, doctor, architect, and teacher (see Table 5.18). However, Table 5.17 indicates that no low-participation parents expected their children to graduate from college. Only 6 high-participation

parents (30%) expected their child to complete an undergraduate degree with 3 of them continuing to complete a graduate degree.

Due to these emerging discrepancy in data, responses to question 16 of the "Parental Individual Interview Protocol" (which asked, "How far will your child go in school?") was compared to the question 17 (which asked, "What kind of work will your child do when he grows up?") to determine if the education needed for the job (see question 17 in Table 5.18) was expected to be attained (see question 16 in Table 5.17). After re-examining the responses within each parental interview, it was found that 9 of the high-participation parents and 3 of the low-participation parents expected their child to attain an educational level needed for the kind of work the parent expected the child to do later in life.

The second group of data in Table 5.18 lists the parental responses regarding work they did not want their child to do when he/she grew up. The response of "prostitute and drugs" expressed the parental concern for their child not to engage in activities that were not legal. Fifteen low-participation parent responses (47%), as compared to 5 high-participation parent responses (24%), stated this as not only a potential, undesirable job, but a concern. "I don't want him hanging the corner, you know, dealing them drugs, smoking that crack, and getting into all kinds of trouble," one parent responded. Another parent's responses included, "He can be whatever he wants. I'm okay with that. I'd like him to be honest and not get all messed up. I wouldn't want to see him messed up, you know, the drugs, they ruin your life some bad."

Low-participation parents stated a "dancer" would be an undesirable job for their child. Again, low-participation parental responses (10 responses or 31%) were more than doubled that of high-participation parental responses (4 responses or 19%). The larger numbers for these three categories (dancer, drugs, and prostitute) could also be attributed to the low-participating parents responding with longer answers allowing more jobs to be listed.

Responses from high-participation parents were scattered among several categories. "Garbage truck, door sales, fast food, and maid" each received one response from a high-participation parent. "Police/firefighter" received 3 responses from high-participation parents and one response from a low-participation parent. All three stated that it was not "what you had

to do that was bad....it's who you got to do it with!" "They don't think twice to shoot you (a policeman) now-a-days. They's don't care who y'are." "No, no, fireman is too dangerous. My baby won't be no fireman." Expressions, such as these, indicate that these parents found it undesirable for their child to be employed in a dangerous field.

"Section C" of the Boulder Family Literacy Registration Form was used to collect data on parents' current educational expectations for their children. In the "Early Childhood Goals" in Section C, parents listed what they expected their child to achieve the current year in the Family Literacy Program. Parents could either write their response or dictate their response for family literacy staff to record. Parents' goals could include more than one category or unit of information. Of the 26 documents that were analyzed in a previous section for "Personal Adult Education Goals," 23 listed children's goals. Document analysis categories and results are listed in Table 5.19.

Parents residing in Section 8 Housing stressed current educational goals that were academically orientated. These parents expected their children to identify, or be familiar with, the letters of the alphabet (9 parent responses) and numbers (8 parent responses). Social skills, or wanting children to "play with other kids and learn to get along," were listed third with 7 parent responses. Six parent responses expressed a goal of "getting their child ahead for school" or a "jump start on kindergarten." Six parents expressed they had dropped out of school and did not want the same for their child.

Table 5.19

Parental "Early Childhood Goals"

	Section 8			Public Housing		
	Park Place	Steeple Chase	Total	Terrace Heights	Central Village	Total
Jump Start or Get Ahead	4	2	6	4	3	7
Colors	1	1	2	4	6	10
Write Name	7	1	8	5	2	7
Alphabet & Numbers	7	2	9	5	1	6
Social	2	5	7	5	4	9
Independence	1	0	1	0	0	0
Prevent Drop Out	3	3	6	3	3	6

Parents residing in Public Housing stressed two different categories as their primary educational goals for their children. Ten of these parents wanted their children to be able to identify their colors and 9 wanted their children to "learn to get along with other children." These goals are not as academically orientated like the above goals listed by the parents residing in Section 8 Housing. However, seven parents did expect their child to write his name upon completion of the program. Seven parents expressed the same goal of the "jump start" explained above.

Evidence was provided in this section indicating that high-participation parents held higher expectations for their children's academic achievement as grades ranging between an A and a C were expected and would produce parental satisfaction when the child enters school. Low-participation parents expected their children to achieve grades ranging from a B+ to a C and would be satisfied with a grade of C. High-participation parents also expected their children to attain higher levels of education as evidenced by 85% of the high-participation parents stated their children would go to college compared to 23% of low-participation parents. A discrepancy in data arose when low-participating parents indicated their children would attain jobs as adults which required higher education. Perhaps this could be contributed to the low-participation parent's desire for their child to be "anything they want to be" but not fully understanding the requirements for some professions.

Conclusion

Results for the qualitative study were discussed in this chapter. Classroom observations were utilized for data collection and analysis for Study Question 1. Results suggested that the duration of time a parent spent in the Family Literacy Program affected their choices and opportunities to initiate activities with their child. Parents new to the Family Literacy Program did not allow their children much choice in activities. When compared to parents with less time in the Family Literacy Program, parents who had been participating in family literacy programs for a longer period of time, were found to be more verbal in asking their child open-ended questions.

Parents who had participated longer were also found to be more social within the program. These parents welcomed new parents, started conversation with staff, and interacted more frequently with the children. Parents who had been in the Family Literacy Program for a longer period of time tended to model the behavior of the Family Literacy Staff Members.

Results for Study Question 2 suggest that high-participation parents and low-participation parents regard academic and social/religious activities as the dominant activities parents can complete with their children to prepare them for school. High-participation parents also responded that motor development was important, while no low-participation parents listed motor development as an activity to ready their children for school. These responses of the high-participation and low-participation parents were compared with results found in Study Question 3. Study Question 3 is similar to Study Question 2 but asks what activities Family Literacy Staff members think parents can complete with their child that would impact the child's academic achievement. Ninety percent of the responses given by the Family Literacy Staff members involved academics (30%), motor skills (30%) and life skills (30%). Family Literacy Staff members had similar views to those of high-participation and low-participation parents; however, they did not regard the social/religious activities to be as important as the parents.

Data for Study Question 2 also included parents' definitions of parental involvement. Several parents were not familiar with the term "parental involvement." For these parents, the question was reworded to ask what activities parents can do to promote their child's academic achievement. High-participation and low-participation parent responses focused on activities which encompassed being on the school campus or at a school event. These types of activities are termed "visible" parental involvement. In contrast, "invisible" parental involvement are activities which parents complete that may affect their child's academic achievement, but outside the physical realm of the school facilities. Thirty-six percent of high-participation parents listed invisible parental involvement activities, while only 10% of low-participation parents listed these types of activities.

The definition of "parental involvement" was also examined in Study Question 3 with Family Literacy Staff members. All staff members knew the term and readily gave responses

with multiple activities and numerous examples. Results indicated that 62% of the responses given by the Family Literacy Staff were activities involving invisible parental involvement. This finding could affect the findings for the high-participation parents as the high-participation parents may be exposed to the views of the Family Literacy Staff members. This could help to explain the difference found between the high-participation and low-participation parents for visible and invisible parental involvement.

Data gathered for Study Question 4 focused on the availability and use of educational materials in the home. Results suggest that high-participation parents engage in more reading and writing activities than do low-participation parents. Of the 175 responses indicating activities, high-participation parents made 81% of the responses while low-participation parents made only 19% of the responses. Of the 300 responses indicating reading activities, high-participation parents made 64% of the responses while the low-participating parents made only 36% of the responses. In comparing the reading and writing activities, low-participation parents tended to engage in writing activities more often than reading activities. The results for high-participation parents could be influenced by participation in the Family Literacy Program since the Family Literacy Program included activities of reading and writing regularly. Low-participation parents did not have access to these activities.

A large difference was also found in the availability of educational materials in the home. High-participation parents made 75% of the total number of responses for this question. This provides evidence that high-participation parents have more educational materials within their home for their children to use and learn. Since the Family Literacy Program regularly gives books, paper, pencils, crayons, and other materials which were listed on the questionnaire, this finding was influenced by participation in the Family Literacy Program. Participation in the Family Literacy Program seems to broaden the access to educational materials for these low-literate parents.

The last major finding for Study Question 4 regarded parents' reading habits. Reading habits consist of reading for personal pleasure or reading to their children. One hundred percent of the high-participation parents read to their child on a regular basis and read for personal

pleasure, as compared to 20% of the low-participation parents. Once again, these findings can be partially attributed to the Family Literacy Program since the program increases the access high-participation have to books and other reading materials.

In order to answer Study Question 5, all 40 parents were asked the highest grade level they completed in school and their reason for dropping out. Seventy-five percent of these 40 parents dropped out of high school because they were pregnant, 15% dropped out because they needed to gain employment and 10% dropped out due to peer pressure. The highest grade attained differed between the high-participation and low-participation parents. High-participation parents completed the 9th through 12th grade, with 55% of these parents completing the 11th grade. Low-participation parents, on the other hand, did not complete the higher levels of education. Low-participation parents completed the 9th grade through 11th grade with 55% of these parents completing the 10th grade as their highest grade level completion.

Data collected for Study Question 5 also asked the 20 high-participation parents their reasons for participating in the Family Literacy Program. Of the 46 responses, 30% of the responses concerned learning computer skills. Other responses included: to obtain a GED (24%), to get a job (9%), to get a better job (9%), to obtain transportation (7%), to learn parenting skills (7%), to learn about early childhood (9%), and to stay drug-free (2%). In addition to the above goals, many parents stated they were attending the Family Literacy Program because they enjoyed working with the Family Literacy Staff and with the other parents. The Family Literacy Program provided a social time for the parents. It also increased their social networks.

This enjoyable social time and the increased networks for the parents could explain the difference in parents' educational expectations for themselves. Nine of the low-participation parents indicated they were not going to go back to school and would remain with their current educational level (these did not have a high school diploma). Ten (50%) of the low-participation parents stated they would return to school at sometime to get a GED, while only 1 low-participation parent stated she would attend trade school. The high-participation parents, on the other hand, held higher educational expectations for themselves. Nine of the 20 parents stated

they would obtain a GED, and 3 wanted to pursue trade school. Eight of these high-participation parents stated they wanted to attend college, with 5 indicating they wanted to complete a bachelor's degree and the remaining 3 wanting to attend and complete graduate school. These results indicate that the Family Literacy Program may affect parents' expectations for themselves.

The last question, Study Question 6, examined parents' educational expectations for their children. All 40 parents (20 high-participation and 20 low-participation) completed the questionnaire. Parents were asked to indicate what grade they expected their child would earn in school and the grade with which the parent would be satisfied. A difference was found between high-participation parents and low-participation parents. High-participation parents responses suggest that they expected their child to achieve between an A and a C, with these grades also being satisfactory. Low-participation parents' responses suggested they expected their children to earn a grade of B+ to a C and that they would be satisfied with a grade of C.

Although achievement expectations differed among high-participation parents and low-participation parents, all 40 parents responded that their children would complete high school. However, differences did exist in the parents' expectations for their children beyond high school. Eighty-five percent of the high-participation parents also indicated that their children would complete high school and enter trade school, college, or the military. Only 25% of low-participation parents expected their children to complete high school and complete additional education.

Results in this chapter provide evidence that Family Literacy Programs may positively affect parents' attitudes and beliefs, social networks, interactions with their child, and educational expectations for themselves and their children. Family Literacy Programs may also impact the home environment since high-participation families were found to have more educational material available in the home.

Family Literacy Staff members were also found to impact the participation of a parent. Parents indicated they enjoyed the social interaction with Family Literacy Staff members and other parents. Family Literacy Staff members were found to provide parents with support,

encouragement, and information to make decisions. Through participation in a Family Literacy Program, parents were exposed to new information and social networks which broadened their cultural capital. Results also provided evidence that as parents remained in the program for a longer period of time, they achieved their goals and set additional, more ambitious goals. It is these findings, combined with the quantitative results in Chapter 4, which led to a theory of "Parental Involvement in Family Literacy Programs." This theory will be discussed in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 6 PRESENTATION OF THEORY

Introduction

Past research has demonstrated that children of parents who are actively involved in their education tend to perform higher academically (Cummins, 1986; Garasky, 1995; Henderson & Berla, 1997; Manno & Winters, 1990; Swap, 1993). Children of low-literate parents may be at greater risk of lower academic achievement as these parents are less likely to participate in their children's education (Davies, 1987; Fingeret, 1984; Fingeret, 1983; Garasky, 1995; Lightfoot, 1978; Manno & Winters, 1990; Ogbu, 1974; Swap, 1993). Thus, the issue of parental involvement in the education of children becomes an issue for parents and educators.

There are several reasons for parents remaining uninvolved in their child's education. Parents may feel inadequately prepared (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997) to assist their children academically, and therefore, leave the school staff to educate their children. On the other hand, Fine (1993) states that schools may purposely keep parents from becoming involved through subtle messages conveyed from school staff to parents which make parents feel unwelcomed and unwanted on the school's campus. Last, combining the theory of cultural capital with other research in this area leads to another perspective of parental involvement (Bourdieu, 1993; Bourdieu, 1984; DiMaggio, 1982; Gonzalez, 1993; Hopkins, 1996; Joffe, 1977; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 1996; Lareau, 1987; Valadez, 1993). It is the clash of the school's cultural capital (composed of the cultural capital possessed by school staff) with the cultural capital of parents that causes misconceived notions as to parents' and school staff involvement intentions. However, the definition of "parental involvement" (Lareau, 1989; Shimoni, 1992) differs across groups from educational staff members to parents. The differences are primarily based upon cultural capital possessed by each group.

Cultural capital is the filter through which an individual interprets messages sent by other individuals. Cultural capital consists of attitudes, beliefs, and cultural competencies, such as mannerisms, an individual learned through interactions with their social group. Thus, messages from one social group to another social group of a differing social status, may be misinterpreted.

The information to which a social group is exposed is limited by the boundaries within which that social group resides. Such is the case with low-literate parents and many schools. For example, parents often have regard for the professionalism and knowledge that teachers possess, and, in turn, do not question the education their children are receiving. Parents tend to their children ensuring that homework and other assignments are completed, but do not speak with teachers about the content or curriculum their children are receiving. Teachers, however, view this seemingly lack of involvement as a lack of interest on the parent's part and conclude that the parent does not care about the child's education, when, in fact, the parent was deferring their child's education to the teacher's knowledge and expertise. This miscommunication may be attributed to the teacher and parent possessing different cultural capital which acts as a filter for messages.

The cultural capital a parent possesses is passed to their children through a process called social reproduction. Social reproduction states that as children become adults, they "reproduce" the social status of their parents. This reproduction occurs because social status is a structuring system, which controls an individual's access to information, institutions, individuals, and various societal networks. Such a control shapes the attitudes, beliefs, and social competencies of individuals within that social status. Thus, a child born into poverty tends to remain in poverty as an adult due to limited access of information, which exist within the social structure.

Through social reproduction, individuals inherit their parent's cultural capital which consists of various abilities, linguistic codes, and other cultural competencies determined by the social structure in which they live forming their habitus. Thus, the habitus consist of individual characteristics, as well as, aspects of the environment in which the children and adults live. Individuals, who live in the same community, have the same income level and education, possess similar elements in their habitus. However, they do not possess identical elements. This study examined the cultural capital of parents, along with their habitus, who choose to participate in the education of their children through Family Literacy Programs and those parents who choose not to participate.

Family Literacy Programs offer services to parents who are low-literate and, many times, high poverty. The above-cited research indicates that these parents are less likely to become involved in their child's education. However, Family Literacy Programs continue to prosper and grow in size and numbers throughout the United States. It is the growing participation of low-literate parents that has made these types of programs so necessary. Many parents, on the other hand, still do not take advantage of the Family Literacy Program in their neighborhood.

The cultural capital a parent possesses may influence involvement in their child's education. A parent's self perception, attitudes and beliefs regarding their children, interaction patterns with their child, educational expectations in the highest level of education their child will complete, and social networks are part of one's cultural capital which is structured by social group membership. These influences impact a parent's cultural capital and affect the perceptions held in regards to education and their child, in turn, affecting parental participation patterns.

Based upon the theory of cultural capital, this study was designed to determine whether parents who participate in a Family Literacy Program possess a different cultural capital than parents who do not participate. The hypotheses for this study examined whether high-participation parents held more favorable attitudes and beliefs regarding their children than low-participation parents. The hypotheses also examined whether high-participation parents had more favorable perceptions of themselves as a teacher of their child compared to low-participation parents. The education attainment of children of high-participation parents was also examined to determine whether these children made significant educational progress.

Information was collected on the difference in parental beliefs between high-participation and low-participation parents regarding parent-initiated activities which foster their child's education, the availability of material in the home, and educational expectations for their children and themselves. Information was also collected from family literacy staff members on their perceptions of activities parents could complete to encourage their child's education.

Results discussed in Chapter 4 provide evidence for the existence of differences between high-participation parents and low-participation parents' perceptions of themselves as teacher of their children and favorable attitudes and beliefs regarding their children. Data discussed in Chapter 4 suggest that high-participation parents have more favorable attitudes and beliefs toward their children than low-participation parents. Data also suggest that high-participation parents hold more favorable perceptions of themselves as teachers of their children.

Results discussed in Chapter 5 provide evidence that high-participation parents hold higher present and future educational expectations for themselves and their children when compared to low-participation parents. No differences were found between high-participation and low-participation parents in the activities reported to be related to their children's education. Both groups of parents reported academically oriented activities, such as teaching their child to write their name, identify colors, identify letters of the alphabet, and identify numbers, as well as, both groups of parents listing activities for parental involvement as visible types of activities, including volunteering at school. Family literacy staff members acknowledged the importance of visible parental involvement but found invisible forms of parental involvement, such as completing a puzzle at home and going to the park with their child, to be more significant activities parents could perform with their children to increase academic achievement. Perhaps the difference between family literacy staff members' and parent's views concerning activities parents could perform with their children to increase the child's academic achievement is influenced by differences in cultural capital.

In order to study a parent's cultural capital, this study utilized a series of questions to allow parents to reveal their beliefs and attitudes pertaining to issues and topics, such as educational expectations as to the highest education level completion for themselves and for their children, availability of materials in the home, patterns of reading and writing, and personal definitions of parental involvement accompanied with examples of activities to promote their child's education. Through the investigation of the parents' cultural capital, it was discovered that parental involvement in family literacy was a process which parents undergo. It became

apparent that parents at different points in this process held different attitudes and beliefs, or possessed different cultural capital. Therefore, it was concluded that the Family Literacy Program possibly impacted a parent's cultural capital through the participation in the program.

This finding was accompanied by many findings which were not part of the original design of the study. First, it was found that parents in the section 8 housing and in the public housing communities lived very isolated lives. They had little contact with other parents and little to no contact with individuals outside that of their housing community. Through participation in the Family Literacy Program, parents began to have contact with each other outside of the program. Study groups, children's play groups, and assisting each other in times of need began to occur among the parents who participated in the Family Literacy Program. These parents began to socialize with each other and form friendships which were not present before.

A second finding involved parents' self-efficacy. Because parental expectations may be influenced by one's cultural capital, this study asked parental expectations about both the educational level they felt they would attain, and the level they thought their child would attain. Parents were also asked to identify the type of job they expected their children to have as adults. These expectations are a part of a person's self-efficacy (Bandura 1986, 1993) which was found to be influenced by participation in a Family Literacy Program. As parents participated in the Family Literacy Program, their expectations for themselves began to change. They expressed the desire to complete increased levels of education for themselves and their children. They also completed goals and set ambitious goals.

Third, this study found that the program climate and attitudes of the Family Literacy Program staff may influence the participation of parents in the program. It was found that some parents attended the program for socialization with other adults. Some adults, who were not a part of this study, had no children and attended the Family Literacy Program to be with other adults. An open, friendly, inviting atmosphere was established by the family literacy staff members which appeared to have some impact on the parents' continuing participation. Family Literacy staff members engaged in social conversation with parents as they inquired about

children, job, and other life aspects outside that of the program. It was observed that parents were excited to share good news or information with the Family Literacy staff.

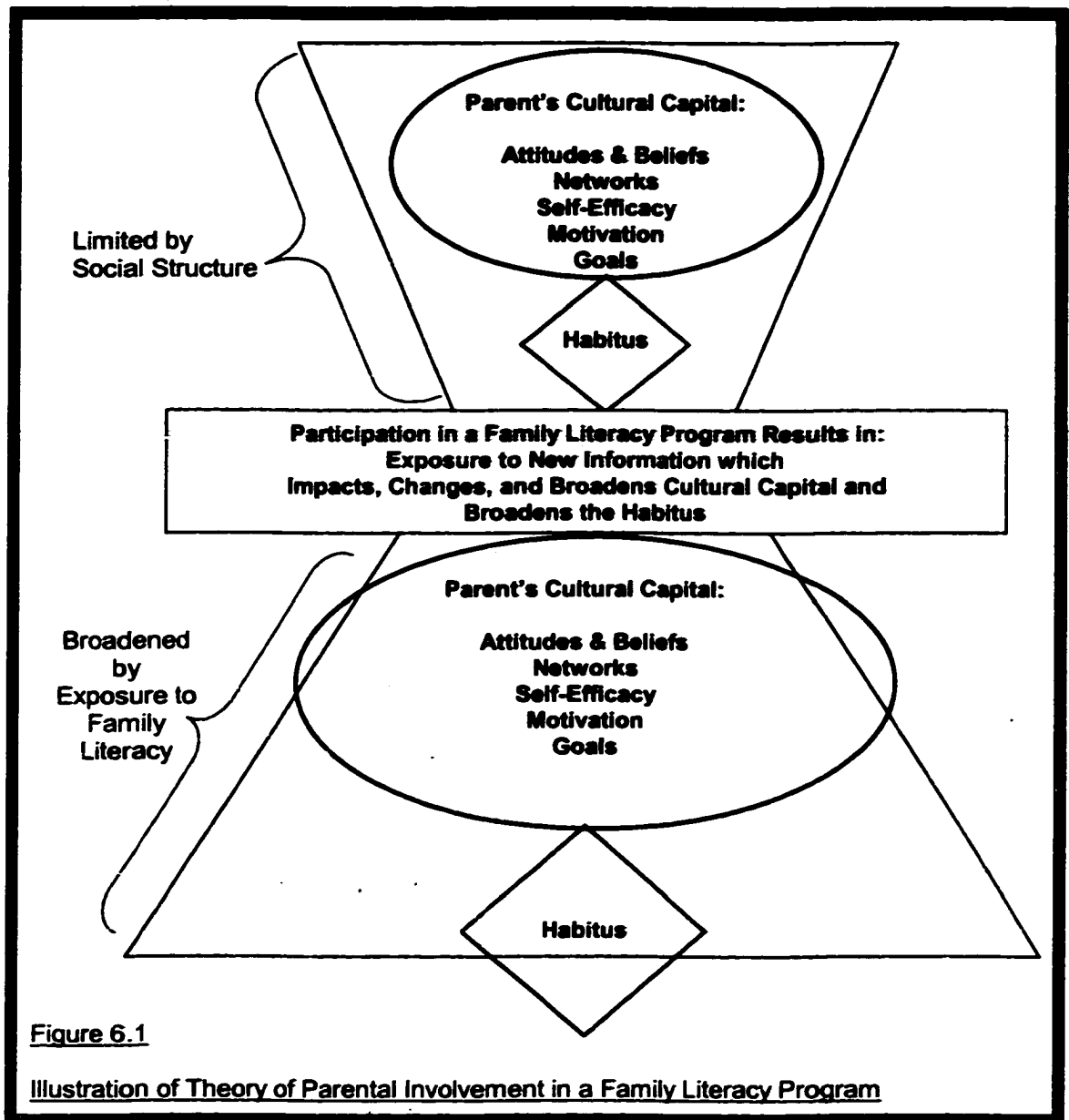
The atmosphere of the Family Literacy Program encouraged and respected the parents' freedom as adults. For example, when a parent missed a session, she was welcomed at the next session as the family literacy staff member expressed the parent was missed by all. The family literacy staff did not inquire as to the reason why the parent had not attended. This may have helped parents feel more comfortable after returning from an absence from the program. Parents were also allowed to leave and return to the room as they felt they needed without being questioned or gaining permission from the Family Literacy staff members.

Last, this study suggests that parents who participate in a Family Literacy Program move through a process of increasing commitment, participation, and involvement. This process consists of stages of involvement which is discussed next as a theory of parental involvement in a Family Literacy Program.

Presentation of Theory: Stages of Parental Involvement in a Family Literacy Program

Parental involvement in Family Literacy Programs is a process which develops over time. This process involves a parent's cultural capital which includes the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs a parent possesses. The social group and environment to which the parent is exposed structure this cultural capital. Figure 6.1 illustrates that the process of parental involvement is somewhat like two funnels which are connected at the narrower ends. The top funnel is smaller than the bottom funnel. The process of parental involvement in family literacy begins with the parent entering the program with their cultural capital and defined habitus. The parent's cultural capital is defined and limited by the social structure within which he/she resides.

When a parent joins a Family Literacy Program, they break their social structure limitations as the program exposes them to new types of information and new ideas which begins to impact their cultural capital and broaden their habitus.



The elements of a parent's cultural capital which Family Literacy Programs impact are those of attitudes and beliefs, networks, self-efficacy, goals, and motivation. By participating in a Family Literacy Program, the parent is exposed to new types of information that equips the parent with new tools to decode the messages of the outside world. This outside world is that which is beyond the isolated culture within which these parents reside. Family Literacy Programs break the isolation and allow a broader stream of new information to flow to the participants.

The "Stages of Parental Involvement in Family Literacy Programs" is similar to other stage theories. The classical example of a stage theory is Maslow's (1989) "Theory of Motivation." This theory was based on hierarchy of needs ranging from the basic stage of physiological to the stage of self-actualization, which Maslow states affects an individual's motivation according to which stage the individual is in.

A more recent stage model is that of Hord's (1981) "Stages of Concern." Hord's model consists of seven stages which she states teacher's adopt during a process of change. These stages range from an awareness stage where the teacher is not concerned, to a stage of refocusing where the teacher has undergone a process of accepting the change and may have ideas to contribute to the change process.

The "Stages of Parental Involvement in Family Literacy Programs" is a four-stage model and is based on the following assumptions:

1. Parent's cultural capital consists of attitudes and beliefs, networks, self-efficacy, motivation and goals. These components are structured by the social structure within which the parent resides or has been exposed to in the past.
2. Social structure allows or prevents information to flow in and out of a community to which the parent has access. Social structure determines the types of information, which are available to parents within that structure which may impact that parent's cultural capital and habitus.
3. Parents want the best for their children.
4. The process of parental involvement results from the interaction between attitudes and beliefs, networks, self-efficacy, motivation and goals on the part of the parent and the educational organization.

The concepts of attitudes and beliefs, networks, self-efficacy, goals, and motivation are items present within a parent's cultural capital. Each of these concepts will be operationalized below.

Attitudes and beliefs are feelings, mannerisms, demeanors, thoughts, ideas, and opinions parents possess. Attitudes and beliefs are shaped by the experiences within the social

structure in which the parent resides. These attitudes and beliefs are based on limited information as the social structure allows and disallows the flow of information. By entering a Family Literacy Program, the constraints of the social structure within which the parent resides are broken as new information flows through the Family Literacy Program to the parent.

Networks are communication pathways for social, political, and business information. Networks consist mainly of people but, with technology, can consist of electronic means, such as e-mail and internet access. Networks also allow or prevent the flow of information. Low-income parents have limited access to information. These parents often live isolated and do not communicate with their neighbors. Their networks are often limited to family members. By participating in a Family Literacy Program, parents increase their networks within the housing community they reside. The Family Literacy Program also brings in contact people in the business world which opens new pathways for communication and expands the parent's networks.

Self-efficacy, as defined by Bandura (1986, 1993), is a person's judgement about her capabilities to develop a plan of action and execute that plan of action to a desired level of performance or outcome. Self-efficacy develops from past experiences and social influences. Thus, self-efficacy is also limited by the social structure within which one resides. The social structure "structures" and limits the kinds and amounts of experiences to which the parents in their social class were exposed. Since self-efficacy is developed on these experiences, the parents' self-efficacy was developed on a limited, structured amount of information.

Self-efficacy influences a parent's expectations for themselves and their children and is influenced by the social structure within which they reside. Participation in a Family Literacy Program broadens access to information, increases networks, provides positive experiences, and results in a change in self-efficacy. This change in self-efficacy can occur in the parent as a learner, as a parent and/or as a person. As a parent's self-efficacy increases their motivation is affected.

Motivation is the intrinsic desire to complete or perform a predetermined task based on needs or values (Locke, 1991). The desire the parent possesses may stem from their self-

efficacy or can be aroused by a situation. Motivation is what keeps the parent moving in a certain direction toward a predetermined task. The predetermined task becomes a goal when it has a discernable set of attributes. Motivation is transformed into goals when there is a cognitive representation in the form of values (Locke, 1991).

A goal is a value, predetermined task or end-result that a parent seeks. A goal has a motivational pull and is individualized according to a parents' value system. A goal must be of value to be motivational. Family Literacy Programs help parents define goals which are valued by the parents. These goals are defined in measurable, accomplishable steps so parents can experience their progress and success.

The "Theory of Parental Involvement in Family Literacy Programs" can be generalized into four stages which demonstrate the transformation process, as well as the interaction between the concepts of networks, self-efficacy, attitudes and beliefs, motivation, and goals (see Table 6.1). The analogy of water is used to portray the Family Literacy Program as the parent "wades the waters of family literacy."

The waters of the Family Literacy Program are symbolic of the information which the program possesses. The parent undergoes a process of investigating the waters and deciding if it is safe. The parent then "toe dips" to determine the "temperature" or environment of the program. This helps the parent decide whether this may be a desirable environment in which to enter. The parent then places one foot into the water, steadies the step then, when she is comfortable, places the second foot into the water so she is standing in the water. If the water is comfortable and her stand is firm, the parent begins to wade through the waters of information. The waters of family literacy flow out of the program into the community as family literacy staff members introduce parents to new information. Parents begin to move into the community to explore new opportunities, which expands their cultural capital. These new opportunities may impact the home environment of the parents which may impact the cultural capital of their children.

Table 6.1**Stages of Parental Involvement in a Family Literacy Program**

Concept	Stage			
	1 Investigation	2 Toe Dipping	3 Step/Stand	4 Wading
Attitudes & Beliefs	No Change	New Ideas	New Ideas Begin to be Incorporated into Cultural Capital	New Ideas are Reflected in Daily Activities
Networks	Limited	One-to-One Within Program	One-to-Many Within Program	One-to-Many Outside Program
Self Efficacy	Preset: Low to Moderate	Incremental Increases; Parent sees Self as a Learner	Noticeable Increases; Parent sees Self as a Developing Parent	Strong: Home Environment Impacted; Parent sees Self as Pro-Active Person
Motivation	Preset: Low to Moderate	Begins to Increase	Strong Increases	Advocates Family Literacy
Goals	Undecided or No Plan	Goals Formed; Plan Developed	Steps in Plan Toward Goals; Some Attained	Goals Attained; Additional, More Ambitious Goals Set

Stage 1, or the stage of investigation, is the stage in which the parent seeks information about the Family Literacy Program. The parent's curiosity is piqued as she begins to question other individuals as to their involvement in the program. During the "Investigation" stage, the parent has set attitudes and beliefs which are based on the cultural capital to which she has been exposed. Her networks are limited mainly to family members and perhaps a friend or two who reside within the same housing community or within close proximity. The parent's self-efficacy is present and may be positive or negative. The self-efficacy and motivation a parent possesses at this time is also based upon their cultural capital. A parent may or may not have goals during this stage. If the parent has goals, many times there is no plan to achieve those goals.

It is during the first stage that the parent attends the first family literacy session. There is no set duration for stage 1 as many parents may have curiosity but never actually attend a session. The movement from stage 1 to stage 2 is based upon the parent attending a session and deciding, "Do I want to come back?" Many times, the decision to return is based upon the environment of the Family Literacy Program. If the family literacy environment is one of acceptance and freedom, the parent is more than likely to return for a second session.

Stage 2, or the "Toe Dipping" stage, is when the parent decides to return for a second session of the Family Literacy Program. The parent begins to take an interest in the program and may attend on a sporadic basis. The parent's attitudes and beliefs are being impacted with new information, creating new ideas, which may begin to change the attitudes and beliefs of that parent. The parent's network system begins to expand minimally into one-to-one relationships with family literacy staff members and/or other parents. Self-efficacy and motivation begin to increase as the parent begins to formulate goals and a plan to reach these goals. These goals may be related to their child's learning or to their own learning. It is during stage 2 that the parent begins to view herself as a learner. The parent begins to identify with other parents as learners also through the formation of networks within the program.

This sense of belonging helps the parent decide, "Do I like this?" "Will this help me?" "Is this information useful to my family?" Parents begin to transfer their learning from the family literacy environment into the home as they begin to try activities with their child. It is through the investigation of these questions and the home experimentation that parents begin to make a commitment to attend the Family Literacy Program on a regular basis and enter stage 3.

Stage 3 or the stage of "Stepping and Standing," is the stage in which the parent has made a firm commitment to attend the Family Literacy Program on a regular basis. Parents begin to focus on specific needs and goals for themselves and their children. Their attitudes and beliefs may begin to change with the new knowledge they are acquiring. Their networks begin to expand within the program as they make friends and socialize with classmates. This network of friends formed within the program is explored outside of the program as the parent and classmates begin to meet for study groups and children's play groups. The parent's self-

efficacy and motivation continue to increase. The parent begins to see herself as a learner and as a changing parent, as new information on child development learned in the Family Literacy Program is incorporated in child rearing.

These changes lead the parent to experience success in the attainment of goals or through the attainment of steps in the plan to attain the goal. The parent decides that the program is providing her family with relevant information that can be used to improve her current life situation.

The last stage, stage 4 or the "Wading" stage, is where the parent has achieved some goals and has formulated additional goals with higher attainment levels. The parent's attitudes and beliefs have been impacted and may have changed significantly. This results in changes in the daily lives and routines of the family. The parent begins to help new parents as they enter the program. The networks of the parent have expanded from one-to-one relationships within the Family Literacy Program to one-to-many relationships with other parents and businesses, as well as individuals within and outside the housing community. These new networks expose parents to new information. The self-efficacy of the parent and the motivational levels continue to increase. The parent becomes an "advocate" for herself and her family both within the Family Literacy Program, in the community, or at work.

The parent undergoes changes as a person as her cultural capital has been expanded. She has been exposed to new information leading to new knowledge which may have changed or altered her attitudes and beliefs, networks, self-efficacy, motivation, and goals. This change in the parent's cultural capital may impact the cultural capital of the children as the parent introduces new information into the social structure within which the children live.

These stages are narrated in the following text which incorporates data from the researcher's experiences in a Family Literacy Program into a composite to clarify and illustrate the concepts presented in the "Stages of Parental Involvement in Family Literacy Programs." The language quoted by individuals is from field note data.

Wading the Waters of Parental Involvement: An Illustration of the Stages of Parental Involvement in Family Literacy

Stage 1: Investigation

Flyers announcing the Family Literacy Program and encouraging parents to register are sent home with children, placed in the Laundromat, and distributed at church. Parents begin to talk with neighbors and other parents to find information on this program. One parent says she's heard of it and has a friend who attends and likes it. "Something about your kids get to go to school," the parent explains.

This begins Stage 1 of the process of parental involvement in a Family Literacy Program. "Investigation" is the stage where a parent hears about a Family Literacy Program and begins to gather information on the program. The parent really is unsure as to what the program is about or what services are actually rendered by this program. The parent begins to seek other parents who are involved, or know about, the Family Literacy Program.

The parent may encounter parents who have been enrolled in the program and dropped out. These parents relay information which may, or may not, be an accurate portrayal of the Family Literacy Program. The parent trudges on.

It's 8:00am on a weekday morning and the parent finds herself at the Laundromat, which happens to be located next door to the Family Literacy Program. She sits still and even turns off the dryer so she can hear the activity in the room next door. She hears laughter and peeks out the window just in time to catch a glimpse of an adult and child going into the Family Literacy Program. The parent hears the door open and a crowd of voice echo "welcome, where have ya'll been. We are so glad you are here today. We will be doing a special activity."

"What activity," the parent thinks to herself. "Why are they so happy," she wonders. The dryer buzzes and the parent begins to take her clothes out of the dryer and places them in a laundry basket. She sits with the laundry basket on her lap as she strains to hear the conversation next door. "That is beautiful, Tonya. Did you do that by yourself?" she hears an adult voice from behind the wall say. The parent shifts the basket of laundry on her lap and stands to leave. As she is exiting, she sees several more adults and children entering the

Family Literacy Program. "What is going on in there?" she thinks to herself. "Wait, there is Sue. I'll talk to Sue. She'll tell me what this is all about."

The parent sits outside her apartment complex waiting for the adults and children to exit the Family Literacy Program. From her apartment, she has a bird's-eye-view of the door leading into the Family Literacy Program. She has dressed her daughter in a bright blue Sunday dress and allows her to play with a pot and spoon. As the child bangs the spoon on the pot, the parent begins to witness adults and children exiting the Family Literacy Program. The parent sits up in her seat as she leans forward, straining her eyes, in an attempt to see Sue leaving the Family Literacy Program. Wait, that's her.....no.....oh, there she is! The parent jumps up and scoops her daughter and begins to walk toward the Family Literacy Program.

She walks briskly at first to make sure she "accidentally runs into" Sue leaving the Family Literacy Program. The parent puts down her child about 10 feet from the door to the Family Literacy Program and together they put rocks into the pot. The parent keeps glancing sideways to see when Sue exits the program.

"Oh, Barbara. Thank you so much for the help. My resume' looks great, and I am doing much better in Math. I think I will really do well on that entrance test this time." Sue exclaims to an older, medium-framed lady with light brown hair.

"Sue, you can do it. Just believe in yourself and you can get that job," Barbara replies as she pats Sue on the shoulder. "See you tomorrow, bright and early, OK."

As Sue turns to leave, she sees the parent, Tonya, and her child, Chelsy, putting rocks into a pot. "Hey, Tonya," Sue says as she begins to walk toward the mother and child. "What are ya'll doing here?"

"Well, you know Chelsy. She is just a curious little thing. Next thing I knew she was over here picking up rocks." Tonya replies. "Imagine that. I don't know what she likes those rocks for so much."

Sue stands there for another few minutes before a young boy runs to her with a picture in his hand. "Look, Ma. I made a snake. And the snake sees the cat. And the cat sees the bear."

"Oh, that's wonderful," Sue replies. "Look, Thomas, it is Chelsy and Ms. Tonya."

"Hey Thomas," Tonya states, "what do you have there. Did you make that in there?"
Tonya looks toward the Family Literacy Program. **"What do ya'll do in there, anyway?"** Tonya directs the question to Sue.

"There, oh, that is the Family Literacy Program. It is a place where Thomas can go to preschool and really get ready for kindergarten, and they help me with my skills I need to improve. You know, I am trying to get that secretary job at the school board, but I have not been able to score high enough on the test. Barbara, one of the program's teachers, says if I keep at it, I can raise my math and reading skills high enough to get that job. You know Thomas and I can sure use the money. Hey, why don't you come with us tomorrow. We begin at 8:00am and end around noon. It is a lot of fun."

Tonya returns home excited about the information she has gained concerning the Family Literacy Program. "I still don't know what it is about," she tells herself, "but it is worth a try" She sets her alarm clock for 7:00am to make sure she has enough time to make it to the Family Literacy Program on time in the morning.

Tonya and Chelsy are at the door of the Family Literacy Program for a quarter-to-eight. Sue approaches them with a huge smile. "It's great to see you, come on in," Sue invites them. Thomas walks through the door and immediately goes for a huge truck on the rug in the center of the room. A small figured lady greets him with a smile and looks at Tonya and Chelsy

"Look we have visitors," she states. "What is her name?"

"Chelsy," Tonya replies.

"Well, come and play Chelsy."

Chelsy moves toward the rug as Sue guides Tonya through the room to a small room with five computers. As they enter, Barbara looks up from the computer and smiles. Sue walks over and introduces Tonya.

"Well, let's get everybody on the computer, then Tonya and I will talk." Barbara states as she continues to boot the computers.

The morning wears on as the parents are busy completing lesson after lesson on the computer. Barbara meets with Tonya and gives her a tour of the facility and explains the Family Literacy Program.

"Family literacy is a program for parents and their preschool-aged children. Children participate in a developmentally-appropriate preschool curriculum while adults engage in academic lessons which will help raise their skills and meet their individual goals. There is a time we call PACT, that is parent and child together time, when you and your child work together in the classroom on a given activity. The kids have a lot of fun but so do the parents. What goals do you have for yourself Tonya?" Barbara asks.

Tonya is very quiet. She had never really thought about goals for her life or for her child's life. What does she want to do with her life? Where does she want to go? How do you even get there?

This is an example of a scenario which may occur in the "Investigation" or Stage 1 of the Stages of Parental Involvement in a Family Literacy Program. Stage 1 is about investigation. Gather information, searching for individuals who know something about it, and maybe even "spying" on the program to learn something of what it is about.

The "Investigation" stage includes attending a session to learn first-hand what this program is about. Information is given from the family literacy staff and allows the parent to decide "do I want to come back?"

Stage 2: Toe Dipping

Tonya and Chelsy return to the Family Literacy Program the following day. Tonya is still very nervous as she enters. Chelsy already feels quite comfortable as she runs to the rug in the middle of the room and joins the circle of kids who are singing a nursery rhyme. Tonya proceeds through the room to the small room with computers.

"Well, it is good to see you," Barbara greets Tonya as she walks through the door. "Have you thought about joining the Family Literacy Program? You know you can quit at any time."

Tonya glances behind her as she sees Chelsy clapping and singing with the group. Chelsy really has no one to play with. She and Chelsy stay home all day. And, hey, if for no other reason, this will give Chelsy a chance to make friends.

Tonya, as with so many other adults residing in public housing complexes, live very isolated. The world has forgotten they exist. Tonya's daily routine includes waking up, feeding Chelsy, and watching television until it is time to bathe Chelsy for bedtime. Occasionally, they may go to the park or play on the playground in the housing complex. But since Chelsy fell through the hole in the slide and cut her arm, trips to the playground are limited.

"Yes, we are ready to join," Tonya replies.

Barbara walks to Tonya with several sheets of paper and a folder. Barbara begins to ask Tonya several questions. Upon completion of the forms, Barbara indicates that Tonya will need to complete a test which will assess her academic skills. This will indicate to Barbara on which academic level Tonya can function for future work.

"You know I quit school in the tenth grade when Chelsy was born. I never went back because I had no baby sitter. I don't test no good," Tonya replies with hesitation in her voice.

Barbara senses Tonya's anxiety and begins to soothe her fears. "Tonya, it is just for me to know how to help you. I need to know what you do and do not know. You can stop the test at any time.

"I'll stop it now," Tonya thought to herself but did not dare voice her thoughts not to offend Barbara. "Okay, I'll try," she heard herself tell Barbara.

Tonya completed the assessment in time to work twenty minutes on the computer. Barbara began her with a typing program. Tonya was nervous at first but all of the parents shared their story and, in that, she found encouragement to continue.

Tonya laid awake in bed that night with a nervous feeling in the pit of her stomach. The days events ran through her mind as she tossed and turned unable to fall asleep. "Me, in school," she thought to herself. "Well, I'll go again next week for Chelsy. Even if I don't like it, the program can help Chelsy."

Tonya returns to the Family Literacy Program the following week and several weeks after that. The Family Literacy Program becomes a routine in her and Chelsy's daily lives. Tonya begins to see the learning she has accomplished in her daily class work. She also sees changes in Chelsy as she is beginning to be more verbal and responsive to Tonya. Tonya has attended some parenting classes and finds it comforting to be with other parents who have experienced the same difficulties she is experiencing with Chelsy. Many parents offer advice and alternate approaches to the situation she is in. But most of all, it is nice to be with other adults and have adult conversations.

Stage 2 of Parental Involvement in Family Literacy Programs is the "Toe Dipping" stage. This is a time when parents have decided to make a commitment to discover what the Family Literacy Program has to offer. Parents have decided they like the program, the program has something to offer them, the information offered is useful, and the program can help their family grow and prosper.

It is during the "Toe Dipping" stage that parents begin to view themselves and their children as learners. Parents begin to realize that the Family Literacy Program is not school but a way to learn school skills in a more accepting and nurturing environment. Parents begin to acknowledge that they can better themselves and help their children. They begin to set educational expectations for themselves and their children.

These attitudes are fostered by the beginnings of a new, social network the parents are forming. Perhaps for the first time in their lives, they are with other adults who discuss not only where they want to be in life, but also what needs to be done to get there. Many parents have the desire for a "better job" but some just don't understand that completing their GED may be a first step in attaining that job. Some parents attribute a good job to "luck." Others do not even entertain the notion that a good job is possible for them.

During the "Toe Dipping" stage, parents begin to experiment at home with early childhood concepts experienced in the classroom. They begin to encourage their children to learn and explore on their own. They begin to understand the importance of "play" in a child's development. Parents begin to try different parenting techniques discussed in class.

Stage 2 blends into Stage 3 as parents make a conscious commitment to attend the Family Literacy Program on a regular basis. Parents are already "bringing home and trying" various concepts from the program. Stage 3 enhances and reinforces those concepts as the parent continues to be a learner and begins to experience changes as a parent.

Stage 3: Step and Stand

"Good morning, Tonya," a fellow parent welcomes Tonya as she enters the program. "We are starting a play group in the afternoons two days a week. Would you like to join us?"

Tonya does not even have to think for a moment as she replies "yes." Tonya's daily routine has been experiencing several changes since she entered the Family Literacy Program three months ago. She feels that she is making progress toward her goals, and Chelsy is really learning a lot in class. She finds everything in her life is coming into focus as a new job is within her reach. She has attended the Family Literacy Program regularly and already raised her typing skills.

"Tonya," Tonya turns to see Barbara walking in the room, "here is a job you may be interested in. It looks like you have the qualifications they are looking for and it is within walking distance from here." Barbara hands the newspaper to Tonya as she reads the advertisement.

A new job is not the only change Tonya has decided to make in her life. She has begun to meet with parents in the afternoon while Chelsy and the other children are napping. They discuss books they have read, parenting issues, and basically hang-out with adult company. This is a time for all the parents to kick back and enjoy each other's company. Tonya especially enjoys this time as parents recognize the changes they see in each other. I guess you could call this a "back patting session." Tonya felt the changes taking place, but it is nice when other parents notice.

Stage 4: Wading

"Weli, look who came to see us," Barbara greets Tonya at the door with a huge smile. Tonya has been a successful member of the parent literacy program for eight months, however, she has attained a job which does not allow her to attend the program everyday.

Tonya hugs Barbara and lets out a sigh. "I am so busy. The job is going very well. I am learning so much and they are even sending me to be trained in some new computer software."

"You see," Barbara says, "I knew you'd be great in that job."

Tonya has entered the work force but still attends the Family Literacy Program when she can. Her networks have increased from social networks to business networks as she has entered the workforce and continues to add to her newly acquired repertoire of knowledge. She has set new career goals for herself as she wants to attend the junior college for an associate's degree in accounting. She and Chelsy read every night as Chelsy is getting ready to enter kindergarten this coming school year.

Tonya states that she has changed as a person and never thought she could be "who she is now." She conveys her success story to new parents entering the program. "I like who I am, I like what I am doing, and I feel Chelsy will benefit from the changes I've made." These changes have affected Tonya's home-life as she explains her old routine of watching television and compares it to her new routine of working, getting Chelsy off to preschool, and sitting down in the evening for a reading and activity time with Chelsy.

The stages of parental involvement, which Tonya experienced, resulted in life-changes that impacted her cultural capital. These changes are permanent as the waters of family literacy brought new information, broadened her exposure, and ultimately changed the cultural capital she possessed. These changes impact not only Tonya, but also Chelsy, as Chelsy will grow-up with different information from that of her mother. This is one of the goals of the Family Literacy Program. Family Literacy Programs impact parent and child, which ultimately alter the child's life.

CHAPTER 7 SUMMARY, RESULTS, CONCLUSION, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE AND RESEARCH

Summary

Children with involved parents tend to perform better academically (Cummins, 1996; Henderson & Berla, 1997; Manno & Winters, 1990; Rumberger, 1983; Swap, 1993). Research has also suggested that low-literate parents tend to be less involved in their children's education compared to parents with increased literacy (Davies, 1987; Lightfoot, 1978; Ogbu, 1974). This lower level of involvement may have significant consequences for the child. Advancements in technology that allow scientists to more thoroughly study the brain and its development from infancy (Shore, 1997) have proven that children who are properly stimulated at early ages develop more pathways in the brain from which information can be processed ultimately affecting the child's intellectual capacities. Results from the emerging brain research provide biological evidence for the importance of the role a parent assumes in their child's early development and education. The tendency for low-literate parents to be less involved in their children's education, gave rise to Family Literacy Programs that teach, encourage, and promote parental interaction and involvement with their children. This study examines parental participation in Family Literacy Programs in an attempt to understand that participation more thoroughly.

The theoretical framework for this study centered on the theory of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984, 1993). It was proposed that the cultural capital a parent possesses influences their involvement in their child's education. The cultural capital which exists within the parent's social group impacts and influences their self perception, attitudes and beliefs regarding their children, interaction patterns with their child, educational expectations, and social networks which comprises the parent's habitus. The parent's habitus then affects the perceptions held regarding education and their child, in turn, affecting parental participation patterns.

This study was designed to determine the degree to which parent's participation is dependent upon the following components of their cultural capital: their self-perceptions, attitudes and beliefs regarding their children, the availability of educational material for their

children in the home, opportunities which parents allow children to initiate activity, and parental educational expectations for themselves and their preschool children. The study also examined which parental practices teachers and parents in a Family Literacy Program viewed as being directly related to children's education. A parallel mixed model study with a dominant-less dominant design for both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis was used (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998).

The following hypotheses and study questions were generated to guide the data collection for this study.

Hypotheses for Quantitative Study

1. Low-literate parents who have high participation rates in a Family Literacy Program will have more favorable perceptions of themselves as being a teacher of their child when compared to low-literate parents who have low participation rates.
2. Low-literate parents who have high participation rates in a Family Literacy Program will have more favorable attitudes and beliefs regarding their children when compared to low-literate parents who have low participation.
3. Preschool children with high parental participation rates will show significant gains between pretest and posttest scores on the Early Learning Level Checklist.

Study Questions for Qualitative Study

1. What choices and opportunities to initiate activities do low-literate parents give their children in a Family Literacy Program preschool setting?
2. What activities do high-participating, low-literate parents report as being related to their children's education as opposed to low-participating, low literate parents?
3. What activities do teachers in Family Literacy Programs report as effective parental practices in children's education?

4. Is there a difference in the availability and use of educational materials in the home of high-participating, low-literate parents and that of low-participating, low-literate parents?
5. Do low-literate, high-participating parents hold different present and future educational expectations for themselves than that of low-literate, low-participating parents?
6. Do low-literate, high-participating parents hold different present and future educational expectations for their children than that of low-literate, low-participating parents?

Sample

The Hypotheses and Study Questions for this study called for a specifically designated population consisting of low-literate parents participating in a Family Literacy Program. Convenience sampling was used in the selection of a large, urban, public school system in South Louisiana which had an existing Family Literacy Program. "Sampling for homogeneity" (Patton, 1990) was then used to select 40 parents who resided among two Public Housing and two Section 8 Housing sites served by the Family Literacy Program. The 40 parents were selected on their participation level in the Family Literacy Program forming a group of 20 high-participation parents and 20 low-participation parents. Children of the high-participation parents (27 children) were also included in the study.

Data Collection and Analysis

Quantitative. Quantitative instrumentation consisted of the "Parents As A Teacher Inventory" (Strom, 1995) and the "Early Learning Level Checklist," which is a developed instrument by the school district supporting the school district studied. The "Parents As A Teacher Inventory" was used to collect data for Hypotheses 1 and 2. This instrument had documented validity and reliability results for samples similar to the one in this study. Additional reliability measures calculated during this study indicated that this was a reliable instrument for this study's sample.

The "Early Learning Level Checklist" was a developed instrument by the school district. Reliability was established following the pretest administration. Reliability coefficients indicated that this was a reliable instrument for data collection with the study's sample.

Data were collected from 20 high-participation parents and 20 low-participation parents utilizing the "Parents As A Teacher Inventory." The "Early Learning Level Checklist" was used to collect data from the 27 children of high-participation parents.

Qualitative. Qualitative instrumentation consisted of a classroom observation protocol, Parental and Family Literacy Staff Individual Interviews, Parental and Family Literacy Staff Focus Group interviews, and Document Analysis.

Data collected for Study Questions 1 through 6 were analyzed using combined approach of the Constant Comparative method (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and the Developmental Research Sequence (Spradley, 1979, 1980). Classroom observations generated data for Study Question 1. Data for Study Questions 2, 4, 5 and 6 were collected utilizing the Parent Personal Interviews. Teacher Personal Interviews were used to collect data for Study Question 3. Document Analysis was also used to collect data for Study Questions 5 and 6. Triangulation of data and methodology were performed as both quantitative and qualitative methods were utilized in answer the Hypotheses and Study Questions.

Results

Information was collected on the difference in parental beliefs between high-participation and low-participation parents regarding parent-initiated activities which foster their child's education, the availability of material in the home, and educational expectations for their children and themselves. Information was also collected from family literacy staff members on their perceptions of activities parents could complete to encourage their child's education.

Quantitative results discussed in Chapter 4 provide evidence for the existence of differences between high-participation parents' and low-participation parents' perceptions of themselves as teacher of their children and attitudes and beliefs regarding their children. Data discussed in Chapter 4 provides evidence that high-participation parents have more favorable attitudes and beliefs toward their children than low-participation parents. Data also suggest that

high-participation parents hold more favorable perceptions of themselves as teachers of their children.

Qualitative results discussed in Chapter 5 provide evidence that high-participation parents hold higher present and future educational expectations for themselves and their children when compared to low-participation parents. No differences were found between high-participation and low-participation parents in the activities reported to be related to their children's education. Both groups of parents reported academically oriented activities and conceptualized parental involvement as visible types of activities. However, high-participation parents listed more invisible types of parental involvement than that of low-participation parents.

Family literacy staff members acknowledged the importance of visible parental involvement but found invisible forms of parental involvement to be more significant activities parents could perform with their children to increase academic achievement. Perhaps the difference between family literacy staff members' and parent's views concerning activities parents could perform with their children to increase the child's academic achievement is influenced by differences in cultural capital.

In order to study a parent's cultural capital, the study utilized a series of questions to allow parents to reveal their beliefs and attitudes pertaining to issues and topics, such as educational expectations as to the highest education level completion for themselves and for their children, availability of materials in the home, patterns of reading and writing, and personal definitions of parental involvement accompanied with examples of activities to promote their child's education. Through the investigation of parents' cultural capital, a pattern of parent behaviors were noted among parents who attended the Family Literacy Program for the same duration of time. It became apparent that parents who had attended the Family Literacy Program for the same amount of time held similar attitudes and beliefs, or possessed similar cultural capital which was displayed outwardly through their habitus.

The process of parental involvement was developed in Chapter 6. This theory describes four "Stages of Parental Involvement in a Family Literacy Program." In Stage 1 the parent gathers information concerning the Family Literacy Program and makes the initial

decision to attend a session. At Stage 2, the parent has attended the first session. The parent finds the information in the Family Literacy Program helpful to herself and her family and makes a commitment to begin attending the program on a regular basis. The parent begins to formulate family and individual goals during this stage.

The parent enters Stage 3 when he/she has made a commitment to attend the program on a regular basis and has been doing so. The parent may achieve some of the previously set family and individual goals, and sees a direct connection between the material being studied in the Family Literacy Program and his/her personal life. This view continues through Stage 4 as the parent has met several individual and family goals and has set additional, more ambitious goals. From Stage 1 through Stage 4, the parent has been exposed to new cultural capital which may broaden his/her cultural capital.

These "Stages of Parental Involvement in a Family Literacy Program" are based on four assumptions. First, parent's cultural capital consists of attitudes and beliefs, networks, self-efficacy, motivation and goals. These components are structured by the social structure within which the parent resides or has been exposed to in the past. Second, social structure facilitates or constrains the flow of information into and out of a community to which the parent has access. Social structure determines the types of information, which are available to parents within that structure which may impact that parent's cultural capital and habitus. Third, parents want the best for their children. Last, the process of parental involvement results from the interaction between attitudes and beliefs, networks, self-efficacy, motivation and goals on the part of the parent and the educational organization.

The theory further implies that a parent enters a Family Literacy Program with limited cultural capital. Through participation in the Family Literacy Program, the parent is exposed to new forms of cultural capital, which broaden the parent's existing cultural capital and is displayed through the habitus. As the parent's cultural capital is broadened, the home environment is affected which could impact the children in the home.

Conclusion

Differences in attitudes and beliefs differentiate low-literate parents who participate in a Family Literacy Program from those who do not. Parents who chose to participate in a Family Literacy Program tended to have more favorable attitudes towards their children, and had more materials available in the home with which they and their children could read and write than parents who did not participate.

Parents participating in a Family Literacy Program over an extended period of time were found to have increasing motivation and more ambitious goals from the time they entered to the time they exited. These parents often gained employment, increased their social and occupational networks, and became more pro-active in their lives and the lives of their children while participating in the program. Thus, this study provided evidence that participation in a Family Literacy Program broadens the cultural capital of parents. This broadened cultural capital of the parent may impact the home environment, as the parent introduces this new information into the family's social class. In turn, the children are exposed to the broadened cultural capital of the parent and incorporate this information into their cultural capital. The children may then be affected by their parents' participation in a Family Literacy Program, as well as their own participation in the early childhood component of the Family Literacy Program. These children become adults who possess the broadened cultural capital of their parents, as well as new experiences which may have resulted from this broadened cultural capital.

This broadening of cultural capital may negate the effects of social reproduction as the children were exposed to a home environment more typical of a higher social class. The children had the opportunity to be exposed to new and different information as the parent brought such information into the home environment. The children then had the opportunity to incorporate this new information into their cultural capital, in turn affecting their habitus. This process may change the children, increasing the opportunities to which they may be exposed. This would allow the children to reach adulthood possessing knowledge of a social class other than that of their parents.

For Family Literacy Programs to have the potential to impact parents, parents must first choose to attend the program. This study found the parents' choice to attend the Family Literacy Program may have been influenced by the Family Literacy Staff members. Results suggest that the Family Literacy Staff members provided an open atmosphere and a friendly rapport with the adults. They displayed concern for the family life of the parents. Family Literacy Staff members allowed parents to move about the room freely and allowed social conversations during literacy lessons. Such a climate may have eliminated any initial nervous feelings the parents' may have had. Thus, the parents felt comfortable in the Family Literacy Program and this may have encouraged them to attend regularly.

Family Literacy Programs may have the potential of broadening the cultural capital of parents. As the parents' cultural capital is broadened, the parents may experience new information and increased social networks. As the parents undergo these changes, their children may be affected possibly providing them with increased opportunities as they reach adulthood. These opportunities could allow the child to reach adulthood in a different social class than that of their parent negating the effects of the social reproduction theory.

Implications for Practice and Research

This study focused on the cultural capital of parents which may affect the parent's choice of whether or not they participate in a Family Literacy Program. The findings in this study suggest several implications for future research.

First, this study suggests that children of parents who participate in a Family Literacy Program experience significant educational gains over the course of one year. To assess the long-term effects of a Family Literacy Program, it is suggested that children of both high-participation and low participation parents be assessed to determine if there are significant differences in the educational attainment of the two groups of parents and children. Children could also be tracked through high school to determine if children of high-participation parents have increased high-school graduation rates when compared to low-participation parents. Also, the number of children of high-participation parents proceeding to employment or higher education could be compared to that of children of low-participation parents. These results

would indicate the potential longitudinal benefits for parents and children who choose to participate in a Family Literacy Program.

Second, this study addressed attitudes and beliefs of high-participation and low-participation parents in regards to themselves as teachers of their children and in regards to their children in general. This study did not specifically address the issue of parents' "self efficacy". However, the issue of expectations, which is a component of self-efficacy, was explored. Future research may consider a "self efficacy" instrument to determine if there is a significant change in parents' self efficacy and if self-efficacy impacts the parent's participation level in the Family Literacy Program.

Last, representation of low-participation parents in focus groups was limited. It is suspected that the researcher did not gain "full entry" into the setting of low-participation parents. This could influence the findings of this study. Future research may focus on low-participation parents with a longer duration of time to gain access into the setting. This might increase the sample size of low-participation parents which could impact the findings. Findings may also provide a better understanding of why these parents choose not to participate in a Family Literacy Program.

The findings in this study also have implications for recommendations for Family Literacy Programs. This study found that the program climate influenced a parent's decision to attend initially and return to the program. This suggests that family literacy staff members should maintain an open environment that is friendly and welcoming to parents. Family literacy staff members should become advocates for parents as they encourage and provide parents with information. Family Literacy staff members should allow parents to enter and exit the program with minimal questions. This encourages a friendly, social atmosphere where learning can occur.

Socialization was found to be a motivating factor for parents attending the Family Literacy Program. Despite living in high density population settings, residents of Public Housing and Section 8 Housing are typically isolated and engage in little interaction with other residents. Family Literacy Programs can encourage socialization among parents within the program by

providing activities, along with necessary materials, to be completed as a group outside the program. This homework activity would unite parents outside the program for a common purpose and produce a tangible result that could be shared the next time the parents met in the Family Literacy Program. This activity could encourage parents to continue to participate, and could also encourage non-participating friends of high-participation parents to join the program. Thus, such activities could become recruitment tools for Family Literacy Programs.

Recruitment should continue to be a focus of Family Literacy Programs. The Family Literacy staff members in this study continually attempted to recruit parents into the Family Literacy Program. Their recruitment efforts focused on increasing information for parents, such as job fairs, health fairs, and various field trips with their children. Such efforts should be continued and expanded to incorporate businesses coming into the individual family literacy classes to speak to parents. This would provide a more personal approach than the methods previously mentioned. However, both methods should be implemented for a balanced approach.

This study provides support for positive outcomes for parents who chose to participate in a Family Literacy Program. The Family Literacy Program was found to have the potential to impact, broaden, or increase a parent's attitudes and beliefs, social networks, self-perceptions, motivation and goals. This study investigated the short-term effects of parental participation in a particular Family Literacy Program. As Family Literacy Programs grow in numbers across the United States, longitudinal studies can be performed to determine the full impact and benefits of participation in a Family Literacy Program for the individual parent, their child, and society.

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APPENDIX A
THE “EARLY LEARNING LEVEL CHECKLIST”

		Date:											
BENCHMARK		PRE	POST	PRE	POST	PRE	POST	PRE	POST	PRE	POST	PRE	POST
	Identifies pictures of real objects (2 yrs.)												
	Names common pictures (3 yrs.)												
	Describes pictures using sentences (4 yrs.)												
	Expresses personal experiences using pictures (5 yrs.)												
ELA-1-E7	5. SHOWS INTEREST IN LISTENING TO A STORY												
	Enjoys being read to (2 yrs.)												
	Participates in storytelling (3 yrs.)												
	Makes meaningful comments about action (4 yrs.)												
	Responds to questions and discussions of story (5 yrs.)												
ELA-1-E2	6. IMITATES ADULT BEHAVIOR WITH BOOKS												
	Turns pages one at a time (2 yrs.)												
	Pretends to read using pictures (3 yrs.)												
	Demonstrates knowledge of how to use a book (4 yrs.)												
	Uses books appropriately (5 yrs.)												
ELA-1-E1	7. GENERALIZES ENVIRONMENTAL PRINT AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION												
	Points to familiar environmental symbols (2 yrs.)												
	Names familiar environmental symbols (3 yrs.)												
	Gives meaning from environmental print (4 yrs.)												
	Discriminates and reads environmental print (5 yrs.)												
ELA-1-E4	8. ENGAGES IN ROLEPLAY/MAKE-BELIEVE ACTIVITIES												
	Engages in make-believe play, usually alone (2 yrs.)												
	Demonstrates realistic activities in pretend play with others (3 yrs.)												
	Demonstrates more detail in pretend play (4 yrs.)												
	Acts out and portrays familiar scenes and characters (5 yrs.)												
ELA-4-E6	9. RECITES FINGER PLAYS, RHYMES OR SONGS												
	Rehears significant words or phrases (2 yrs.)												
	Repeats one rhyme or song (3 yrs.)												
	Knows 2 rhymes or songs (4 yrs.)												
	Engages in finger plays or songs with movements (5 yrs.)												
ELA-4-E3	10. SEQUENCES SHORT STORIES												
	Relates a character or event as a rhyme or story (2 yrs.)												
	Imitates events from a story or rhyme (3 yrs.)												
	Anticipates "What comes next" in a story (4 yrs.)												
	Retells a story into, story, etc., in logical sequence using pictures (5 yrs.)												
	III. PRE-MATH												
N.1	1. GROUPS OBJECTS/SHAPES BY PHYSICAL FEATURES												
	Matches objects/shapes (2 yrs.)												
	Sorts objects/shapes (3 yrs.)												

		Date:											
BENCHMARK		PRE	POST	PRE	POST	PRE	POST	PRE	POST	PRE	POST	PRE	POST
	Groups by one attribute (4 yrs.)												
	Groups by more than one attribute (5 yrs.)												
N. 3	2. STACKS OBJECTS IN ORDER BY SIZE												
	Stacks indiscriminately (2 yrs.)												
	Stacks 4 rings on peg in order (3 yrs.)												
	Stacks 6 rings on peg in order (4 yrs.)												
	Stacks graduated objects in order (5 yrs.)												
A. 4	1. REPRODUCES SIMPLE PATTERNS												
	Matches like objects (2 yrs.)												
	Reproduces A-B pattern using objects (3 yrs.)												
	Extends an A-B-C pattern (4 yrs.)												
	Extends an A-A-B-B pattern (5 yrs.)												
P. 1	4. IDENTIFIES LIKENESSES/DIFFERENCES IN OBJECTS/PICTURES												
	Matches 2 like objects (2 yrs.)												
	Makes gross discrimination between objects (3 yrs.)												
	Makes discrimination based on one attribute (4 yrs.)												
	Sets 10 objects and differences in terms, numbers and words (5 yrs.)												
N. 2	5. COMPARES OBJECTS BY SIZE												
	Demonstrates understanding of big and little (2 yrs.)												
	Describes objects in terms of size (3 yrs.)												
	Orders objects by size (4 objects) (4 yrs.)												
	Orders objects by size (64 objects) (5 yrs.)												
N. 1	6. ROTE COUNTS												
	Counts (2 yrs.)												
	Counts to 3 (3 yrs.)												
	Counts to 10 (4 yrs.)												
	Counts to 20 (5 yrs.)												
N. 0	7. COUNTS CONCRETE OBJECTS												
	Intervenes counting objects (2 yrs.)												
	Matches objects 1 to 1 (3 yrs.)												
	Counts 5 objects (4 yrs.)												
	Counts 10 objects (5 yrs.)												
	IV. PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT PRE-WRITING (FINE MOTOR)												
ELA-3-C1	1. DRAWS A PERSON WITH RECOGNIZABLE BODY PARTS												
	Sketches (2 yrs.)												
	Draws one recognizable part (3 yrs.)												
	Draws 3 recognizable parts (4 yrs.)												
	Draws 5 recognizable parts (5 yrs.)												

		Date:											
BENCHMARK		PRE	POST	PRE	POST	PRE	POST	PRE	POST	PRE	POST	PRE	POST
	2. COPIES BASIC SHAPES												
	Imitates lines & circular strokes (2 yrs.)												
	Copies a cross & circle (3 yrs.)												
	Copies a square (4 yrs.)												
	Copies 3 basic shapes (5 yrs.)												
	3. WRITES NAME												
	Scribbles randomly (2 yrs.)												
	Scribbles with linear symbols (3 yrs.)												
	Writes with some recognizable letter representations (4 yrs.)												
	Writes first name (5 yrs.)												
	1. USES BALL APPROPRIATELY (GROSS MOTOR SKILLS)												
	Throws large ball (2 yrs.)												
	Catches a bounced ball (3 yrs.)												
	Kicks ball toward target (4 yrs.)												
	Bounces and catches ball (5 yrs.)												
	2. DISPLAYS BODY CONTROL												
	Jumps in place, one foot together (2 yrs.)												
	Hops on one foot (3 yrs.)												
	Balances on one foot for five seconds (4 yrs.)												
	Skips alternating feet (5 yrs.)												
	V. EMERGING SCIENCE												
	1. IDENTIFIES BODY PARTS												
	Points to mouth, eyes, nose, ears, hair & hands (2 yrs.)												
	Points to fingers, neck, legs, arms & back (3 yrs.)												
	Points to head, elbow, shoulders, chin, breast/stomach (4 yrs.)												
	Names three body parts: neck, shoulders, elbow, wrist, breast & navel (5 yrs.)												
	2. SOLVES SIMPLE PROBLEMS USING TOOLS/OBJECTS												
	Makes mechanical toy work (2 yrs.)												
	Moves object from point A to point B with a barrier present (3 yrs.)												
	Finds more than one solution to a problem (4 yrs.)												
	Explains how to move object from point A to point B with a barrier present (5 yrs.)												
	3. ASSOCIATES BODY PARTS WITH SENSES												
	Points to 2 sensory body parts when function named (2 yrs.)												
	Points to 4 sensory body parts when function named (3 yrs.)												
	Names sensory body part when function named (4 yrs.)												
	States function of sensory body parts (5 yrs.)												

APPENDIX B
PARENT INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW

PARENT INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW
Closed, Fixed Response and
Standardized Open-Ended Questions

1a. What is the highest grade you completed in school?

Elementary: 1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th 6th 7th 8th

High School: 9th 10th 11th 12th GED

College: 13th 14th 15th 16th

Other: _____

1b. If you did not finish High School: Why did you drop out?

2. What is the highest educational level you think you will complete?

Elementary: 1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th 6th 7th 8th

High School: 9th 10th 11th 12th GED

College: 13th 14th 15th 16th

Other: _____

3. What is the highest educational level you think you must have?

Elementary: 1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th 6th 7th 8th

High School: 9th 10th 11th 12th GED

College: 13th 14th 15th 16th

Other: _____

4a. Do you have any educational diplomas or degrees or job-related certificates or licenses?

_____ No

_____ Yes:

4b. If yes, please list them: _____

5a. Are you currently working toward a certificate, diploma, or degree:

_____ No

_____ Yes:

5b. If yes, please specify:

_____ Trade license or certificate

_____ GED certificate or equivalent

_____ High School Diploma

_____ Associate's Degree

_____ Bachelor's Degree

_____ Graduate Degree

_____ Other: _____

6a. Would you like to return to school at any time in the future:

_____ No

_____ Yes:

6b. If yes, please specify how far you would like to go in school:

- ☐ Trade license or certificate
- ☐ GED certificate or equivalent
- ☐ High School Diploma
- ☐ Associate's Degree
- ☐ Bachelor's Degree
- ☐ Graduate Degree
- ☐ Other: _____

7. Here is a list of some things that people may write. As I read the list, please tell me whether you wrote the item during the past week.

Checks, money orders, cashier's check	yes	no	don't know
Notes or memos	yes	no	don't know
Recipes	yes	no	don't know
Forms or applications	yes	no	don't know
Appointments on a calendar	yes	no	don't know
Letters to friends, relatives, etc..	yes	no	don't know
Stories or poems	yes	no	don't know
Greeting cards	yes	no	don't know
Crossword puzzles	yes	no	don't know
Grocery lists	yes	no	don't know
Journal or diary	yes	no	don't know

8. Here is a list of some things people may read. As I read the list, please tell me whether you read the material during the past week.

Advertisements in the mail	yes	no	don't know
Letter, bills	yes	no	don't know
Coupons	yes	no	don't know
Labels on food, cooking recipes	yes	no	don't know
Religious material, bible	yes	no	don't know
Instructions, bus schedules	yes	no	don't know
Street signs, bus signs	yes	no	don't know
Newspapers	yes	no	don't know
Notes from teacher or school	yes	no	don't know
TV Guide or other television listings	yes	no	don't know
Magazines	yes	no	don't know
Books	yes	no	don't know
Dictionary	yes	no	don't know
Encyclopedia	yes	no	don't know

9a. In the past week, have you read any books? yes no

9b. If yes, how many books? _____

10a. Do you read to your children? yes no

10b. If yes, how often? _____

11. What activities do you complete with your child that you feel will help him in school:

12. I'll read you a list of things children can play with. Tell me which ones you have in you. Page 2 of 4

Crayons and paper	yes	no	don't know
Scissors	yes	no	don't know
Scotch tape, paste, or stapler	yes	no	don't know
Puzzles	yes	no	don't know
Old picture catalogs, to read and cut up	yes	no	don't know
Paint or magic marker	yes	no	don't know
Clay or playdough	yes	no	don't know
Put together toys like Tinkertoys, Legos or beads for stringing	yes	no	don't know
Yarn, thread, and cloth scraps	yes	no	don't know
Make-believe toys out of milk cartons, tin cans or egg cartons	yes	no	don't know
Plants of his/her own in a pot or garden	yes	no	don't know
Pull toys, rolling toys	yes	no	don't know
Rattle or squeak toy	yes	no	don't know
Blocks	yes	no	don't know

13. Define the term parental involvement:

14. When your child starts school, what grade do you expect him/her to receive in most subjects?

A B+ B C+ C D+ D F

15. What grade would satisfy you?

A B+ B C+ C D+ D F

16. How far do you think your child will go in school?

Won't finish high school
Will graduate from high school but won't go any further
Will go to vocational, trade, or business school after high school
Will enter the military after high school
Will attend college but probably won't graduate
Will graduate from college
Will attend graduate school after college
Don't Know

17. What kind of work do you think your child will do when he/she grows up?

18. What kind of work would you not like your child to do?

Interview Guide Protocol

19. High-Participation Parents:

- a. Who do you have contact with on a daily basis?
- b. What activities do you complete on a daily basis? Weekly?
- c. Why do you participate in this Family Literacy Program? What is your goal?
- d. Why do you think other parents in this community do not participate in the family literacy program?

20. Low-Participation Parents:

- a. Who do you have contact with on a daily basis?
- b. What activities do you complete on a daily basis? Weekly?
- c. Are you familiar with the Family Literacy Program? Why do you not attend the program?
- d. Do you plan to attend in the future? If yes, why? If no, why not?
- e. Why do you think other parents attend the Family Literacy Program?
- f. Why do you think parents, not including yourself, do not attend the family literacy program?

Other:

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APPENDIX C
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION FOR THE PRETEST AND
POSTTEST TOTAL SCORES FOR THE ELLC

**Frequency Distribution for the Pretest and Posttest Total Scores for the
Early Learning Level Checklist**

Pretest Score	Frequency	Posttest Score	Frequency
2.0	1	5.7	2
2.7	1	5.8	1
3.6	1	6.3	1
3.8	2	6.8	2
3.9	1	6.9	2
4.7	1	8.3	1
5.3	1	9.2	1
5.5	1	9.4	1
5.6	1	10.3	1
5.7	1	10.8	1
5.8	2	13.1	1
5.9	1	13.7	1
6.9	2	15.3	1
7.9	1	16.2	1
8.5	1	17.8	1
9.0	1	17.9	2
9.9	1	19.6	1
11.4	1	20.1	1
11.6	1	21.2	1
12.5	1	21.3	1
12.7	1	25.7	1
13.2	1	27.0	1
14.7	2		

APPENDIX D
PILOT STUDIES I AND II

Pilot Study I: Initial Selection of Sites

Pilot Study I was conducted in the Spring of 1998 consisting of qualitative and quantitative data collection. Boulder Parish, Title I, Family Literacy Program was selected. Boulder Family Literacy follows a model very similar to the Kenan Trust Model described in Chapter 2. Boulder Family Literacy began as an Even Start Family Literacy Program in 1990 (see literature review for explanation of Even Start). The Even Start program was federally funded for 4 years. At the end of the four-year period, in 1994, East Baton Rouge's Title I program assumed the cost to continue the Family Literacy Program.

Boulder's Family Literacy Program consisted of four components: early childhood, adult basic education, parenting, and intergenerational activities (PACT). Parents attended and received services with their preschool-age child. Both parent and child are required to attend the program together. The program functioned through the use of three busses which had been converted into a mobile early childhood classroom. Each of the three buses served three sites for a total of nine sites served. The schedule of the buses is as follows:

Monday, Tuesday, & Wednesday mornings

Bus 1- Parkplace

Bus 2- South Square

Bus 3- Terrace Heights

Monday, Tuesday, & Wednesday afternoons

Bus 1- Central Village

Bus 2- Green Place

Bus 3- Plaza Point

Thursday all day and Friday mornings

Bus 1- Trace Plaza

Bus 2- Teddy Circle

Bus 3- Steeple Chase

Services consisted of all four components listed above in the family literacy model: early childhood education, adult basic education, parenting, and intergenerational activities. Parents and child(ren) arrived at the site together. Children boarded the bus for early childhood activities and parents entered the center which was provided by the housing community for adult basic education and/or parenting.

The early childhood schedule consisted of 70 minutes of literacy time, pre-reading, pre-writing and language development, 20 minutes of gross motor development, 30 minutes of emerging science and pre math skills, and 15 minutes for closure and recall of day's lesson for the first two meeting periods (Mon. & Tues.; am or p.m.). The third session consisted of 45 minutes of literacy time, pre-reading, pre-writing, and language development, 75 minutes of PACT and 15 minutes for closure. Thus, children received a total of 185 minutes of literacy time, pre-reading, pre-writing, and language development, 40 minutes of gross motor development, 60 minutes of emerging science and pre-math skills, and 45 minutes of PACT.

The adult component combined adult basic education and parenting. The schedule for the first session allowed for 15 minutes of silent reading, 45 minutes of life skills and individualization, 60 minutes of parenting, and 15 minutes for recap and closure. The second session allowed for 15 minutes of silent reading, 30 minutes of individualization, 30 minutes of parenting, 30 minutes of unit lessons and role play, and 15 minutes for recap and closure. The third session consisted of 20 minutes individualization, 25 minutes of parenting, 75 minutes of PACT and 15 minutes for recap and closure. Thus, adults received a total of 30 minutes silent reading, 45 minutes of life skills and individualization, 115 minutes of parenting, 30 minutes unit lessons and role play, and 75 minutes of PACT.

Intergenerational activities were completed in PACT (parent and child together time). Families received a total of 75 minutes a week for the completion of such activities. Families were also given home-learning activities which they could complete as a family.

Qualitative data was collected through observations at eight of the 9 sites which Boulder Family Literacy serviced. Each observation lasted a day which entailed the duration of time which the Boulder Family Literacy bus was at the housing community. Total observation time consisted of 8 days since one site, Steeple Chase, was added after Pilot Study I was completed.

Classroom observations (Spradley, 1979) consisted of the following grand tour questions:

1 - How is the space in the classroom utilized?

2 - What actors are involved in activities?

3 - What activities are taking place?

4 - What emotions and feelings are displayed by the actors?

5 - How do parents interact with children?

The information gathered in the grand tour observation was used to determine which sites had the most activity present which would prove beneficial in the final sample. Field notes were kept of observations. These notes were unitized and categorized (see qualitative study in Chapter 3) to determine categories of activity.

Family Literacy Staff were interviewed utilizing an informal conversational interview (Patton 1990, p. 281). This type of interview consisted of open-ended questions which were presented to family literacy staff in the context of their work in a conversational tone. This type of interview was chosen because it allowed for maximum flexibility to pursue information in whatever direction appeared appropriate. Standardized open-ended interviews were also used to obtain the same information from each staff member in order to aid in the final selection of sites to be included in the sample (see qualitative study in Chapter 3 for explanation of standardized open-ended interview). The interview questions were geared toward obtaining data for the final selection of sites to be used in the study. Thus, questions centered on attendance patterns of parents and children and enrollment figures (see Teddlie & Boudreaux, 1998 for additional information). The following questions were asked of each of the 9 family staff members with a summary of responses.

1 - What is the child and adult enrollment for this site?

Responses varied from 8 to 23 families enrolled in the Family Literacy Program per site. Parkplace, Terrace Heights, Central Village and Steeple Chase lead the sites for high enrollment.

2 - What is the child and adult attendance for this site?

Attendance patterns consisted of 3 families to 16 families at the different sites. Observations were consistent with staff reports of regular attendance. Again, Parkplace, Terrace Heights, Central Village and Steeple Chase lead the sites for high attendance.

3 - Is attendance at this site for child and adult consistent?

All sites stated that there was a core of families that attended almost every session. Although one site reported that there were times when no families attended and the attendance was inconsistent, the remaining 8 sites ranged from 3 to 12 families that made the core of attendance.

4 - Have you noticed any patterns in attendance for families? For example, attendance is best at a certain time of year? Morning? Afternoon?

All staff members agreed that the attendance was the best at the beginning of the year before the Christmas break. Staff members reported difficulties in finding families after the holidays. Many families were evicted over the holidays, moved, or visited relatives for extended periods of time. Some staff members reported that attendance at the Section 8 Housing communities was also higher. Document analysis and site observations confirmed this statement.

5 - What activities do parents attend the most? (PACT, GED, Parenting)

There was also a consistency in responses among family literacy staff as to the activities parents attended the most. All staff members agreed that Parent and Child Together time (PACT) was a favorite among parents and attendance was high on the days when PACT was scheduled. Other responses included family outings, such as going to see an ice show, was also highly attended by families. Special holiday lessons were also well liked by parents and were highly attended but not as high as PACT and the family outings.

Field notes documented staff responses to the interviews. Key words which kept appearing over and over in the field notes were circled in red. All responses for each question were listed on one page to summarize. This provided for the previous overview of responses which aided in the selection of the sites to use in the final study.

Document analysis (described in qualitative study) was conducted utilizing attendance logs for each of the 9 sites. It was found that the attendance logs verified information from the staff interviews regarding child and parent attendance, attendance patterns, and attendance at

activities. From the observations, staff interviews, and document analysis, **Parkplace, Central Village, and Terrace Heights**, were chosen as the sample for further study. These sites had the highest participation and attendance rates and displayed consistent attendance among participants. **Steeple Chase** was the fourth site chosen for the study, however this site was not observed. This site was added to Boulder Family Literacy when Cooper Run was dropped from the program schedule due to low to no family attendance. Document analysis and staff interviews revealed a high interest level on the part of parents at this site, as well as, the management.

Pilot Study II: Brief Description of Selected Sites

Beginning in June 1998 and ending in July 1998, four days of site observations, for a total of 16 days of observations, were conducted at Parkplace, Central Village, Terrace Heights and Steeple Chase. This allowed for an initial "character sketch" of each housing community to be generated. These observations allowed for insight into family interactions within the housing community outside of an academic setting. Children and adults were observed in their natural surroundings interacting with each other and/or with peers in play, work, and other activities.

The site observations consisted of Grand Tour Observations (Spradley, 1979). Intricate details were not sought during this part of the study. The purpose of these observations was to be able to describe the setting in which each Family Literacy Program functioned. This provided a better understanding and more holistic view for the researcher upon entering the Family Literacy Program in August 1998 to complete the quantitative and qualitative studies. These observations allowed for the introduction of native language (see qualitative study in Chapter 3) and the opportunity to view activities and discover things family literacy staff members and parents did not reveal in later interviews.

According to the Five Dimensions of Variations in Approaches to Observations (Patton, 1990) discussed in Chapter 3, the researcher was an onlooker and did not engage in the activity being observed. Some individuals did approach to ask the purpose of the researcher's presence. Full disclosure was given as it was explained that this housing community was part of a Family Literacy Program that would be used for dissertation work in the up-coming academic

school year. This explanation also yielded for the full purpose of the researcher to others as individuals in the housing community quickly learned of the researcher's presence.

The duration of the observations was over the period of one week for each site. The four observations allowed for data to be gathered on different days of the week to capture routines. A day on the week-end was included in the set of observations for each site except where the housing community management requested that he be on site during observations.

The focus of the observation was very broad, with multiple items being observed. As stated above, all four observations for each site were grand tour observations. This allowed for as much activity as possible to be documented without becoming involved in specific activities or determining the purpose of those activities. Questions which guided the grand tour observations were:

- 1 - How is the space within each housing community used?
- 2 - What activities take place in each space?
- 3 - What actors engage in these activities in each space? What is their approximate age?
- 4 - What is the goal of the activities being observed?
- 5 - Do actors participate in more than one activity?
- 6 - What is the timing of activities?
- 7 - Are the activities repeated on a daily basis?
- 8 - Do activities change on the weekend? If so what activities occur?

Field notes were kept on observations. Lincoln and Guba's (1978) unitizing and categorizing was used to determine categories for each site. These categories were used to develop a character sketch for each site giving the reader of this study a general idea of each site.

Results From Pilot Study II

There were many similarities and differences which existed among the four sites. Each site was observed for four days during a one-week period. The focus of the observations was

on space or the physical arrangement of each apartment complex and its usage and the activities performed.

Similarities Among Housing Communities

Besides the fact that the observations were conducted in the middle of summer and the weather conditions were extremely hot, there appeared to be a routine of activity which took place during the weekdays at all four apartment complexes. There was little activity in the early morning except for adults leaving their apartment for what appeared to be employment reasons. Few children were observed during this time (approximately 7:00 a. m. to 10:00 a. m.) period except for the occasional child who went from one apartment into another. No children were observed leaving with an adult, however, adults did accompany children to another apartment where the child was left when the adult departed.

Activity tended to increase around 10 o'clock in the morning at all complexes. Two complexes had playgrounds on site and two did not. However, not much activity centered on the playgrounds. The Laundromat, the steps to the apartments and cement slab were the centers of activity.

One complex had a Laundromat where adult females and children gathered to do laundry. It was observed that a brother and sister, approximately 10 and 12, worked together to wash their family's laundry. There were no chairs in the Laundromat so the adults and children would sit on the sidewalk at either of the two doors of the facility. Conversation took place between adults as they occasionally got up to check the washer or dryer for their clothes. Conversation ranged from laundry tips to socializing about weekend events. Although the researcher tried to remain an onlooker, conversation did take place where the researcher told the purpose of her presence on the community site when the question was posed.

The cement slabs and the steps to the apartment were a gathering place for older children between the ages of approximately 8 and 16. The boys played basketball (with or without a goal) while younger children, sometimes siblings, played on the nearby slides and swings. The boys' activity usually involved some type of object, such as the ball, which the boys used in a game. Other objects used to initiate and maintain play were paper airplanes, a

football, a broken toilet seat cover and a trash can lid which was used as a steering wheel. The boys took turn playing with the objects, as the object was the center of the play. Whoever possessed the object was in control of the activities which took place.

The steps of the apartment were occupied by girls of approximately the same age as the above-described boys. The girls talked amongst each other laughing. The girls would take turns standing to imitate the story they were telling with hand-gestures and movements. Some girls had dolls while other girls had purses and high-heeled shoes probably taken from their parent's closet. The girls did involve the younger siblings more than the boys did as the younger siblings were the "babies" and the girls were the "mothers." The girls acted out various scenarios from talking on the telephone to shopping or "making groceries."

The younger children, below the age of about 7, tended to be involved in the girls' play while the boys excluded the younger children. It was obvious that the boys were responsible for caring for the younger child while they were outdoors but the younger child would play on the slide or swings alone occasionally trying to become part of the boys' play only to be scolded into returning to play alone. The girls seemed to welcome the younger children as long as they would "mind" what the girls told them to do. This usually consisted of succumbing to being an infant to which the girls could play Mom.

While the children's play had similarities throughout all four sites, so did the absence of the visible parent. Adults were observed during the morning hours leaving for work or going to and from the Laundromat. However, adults were not observed supervising children's play. It appeared that the older siblings were placed in charge of watching the younger children. Adults would occasionally walk out, look around and return into the apartment complex. When the observations first began, at one site, the adult walked out, saw me, and in a matter of minutes, all children and adults were inside the apartment looking out through the window blinds. At another site, however, adults were more forward as they approached to see who I was, what I was doing there, and how long I was staying. After the adults understood I posed no threat, they allowed their children to roam the apartment complex freely.

Such events seemed to be routine throughout all four complexes from Monday through Friday. The sites I was able to observe on the weekend had a similar routine on Saturday with an increased level of Laundromat activity. Sunday appeared to differ from the routine as adults and children were observed in dresses and suites going to and from the apartment complexes. One complex had a van from a local religious organization which made several trips to and from the complex bringing parents and children to another destination, which I presumed was church. This activity level seemed to dissipate around 2 o'clock in the afternoon as the children did not reappear until around 4 o'clock dressed in different clothes ready to engage in play. One complex had a pool and adults and children would swim in the later afternoon.

Differences Among Housing Communities

The physical structure of each complex differed, however, the children's activity, play and behaviors seemed to have some underlying commonalities just in a different physical environment. The most pronounced difference noted by the researcher was that of the "attitude" which permeated throughout each complex. The attitude ranged from suspicious and unfriendly to one of open-natured and welcoming. One complex was at each end of the range with the other two complexes falling somewhere in the middle.

The suspicious and unfriendly complex was previously referred to in the above similarities section. Adults and children watched me as I watched them. The first time I drove up to the complex, got out of my car, and took up my post near the playground, it was only a matter of minutes until adults began to retrieve their children and bring them inside. The basketball game I was watching tended to be uninterrupted by my presence, however, the boys kept glancing my way probably to keep an eye on what I was doing. As a younger child approached to ask me to help him with the swing, he was quickly retrieved by an older child and directed away from me. Management "just so happened" to be walking by a short time after probably to investigate the "stranger" on site. Although not every observation at this site was met with this type of behavior, the fourth day still had an air of uneasiness with the adults who often stared at me and, what I felt to be, watching my every move.

The complex on the other side of the range was one of open-attitudes where adults greeted each other from across the yard. As one adult opened the door to an apartment, a "good morning Ms. so-and-so" could be heard. The greeting was issued by other adults and by children. Children went from door-to-door in the complex gathering other children with which to play. Adults could be heard telling the children to "stay in the ground" which appeared to be a warning for the children not to wonder away from the complex or out of site of the adult.

Adults were aware of my presence and greeted me with "hello" and "good morning/afternoon." Several of the adults asked if they could "help me" which I suspected was a polite way of finding out who I was and what I was doing. After a brief explanation of my research, many adults offered their help if I needed.

Adults at this site were also observed, and overheard, going to the store and stopping by their neighbor to see if the neighbor needed anything while they were out. Adults appeared to keep each other's children as the children went from apartment to apartment trying to obtain permission to stay and play at a certain friend's apartment.

The middle of the attitude range consisted of a mixture of both of the above. One complex didn't appear to have many adult interactions but children were observed playing outdoors with each other. This complex was difficult to observe because the physical arrangement was unlike the other complexes which were two-story structures. This complex consisted of duplex housing units. Such units consisted of one house with two rental apartments. This apartment complex had the most grassed-area when compared to the other three. The structure was lined with trees and had a nearby park with swings and slides for the children. Several apartment units were boarded with plywood and, as management later told me, will be renovated. Thus, families may have had an empty unit next to their duplex.

Adults were observed hanging their laundry on a clothesline and interacting with a neighbor who may have been sitting outside at the time. There was no regular flow of activity to and from housing units as in a previously mentioned complex. It appeared that the adults tended to be more "to themselves" but with a friendlier attitude. Many of the adults watched and were aware of my presence, but it did not alarm them. They allowed their children to remain

outside and play. The children, on the other hand, were very bold and forthright as they questioned my presence, and wanted to see my car, my clothes, my sunglasses, my earrings, my watch, my book sack and everything in my car. "What's that," a child would ask. "What do you do with that," "what is that for," or "why you have that," were the questions which followed.

The last complex physically resembled the first two complexes, as it was a two-story unit. However, at first I thought there was an absence of attitude for this site, then came to understand that the attitude was one of hostility towards other adults in the complex. Adults were suspicious of my presence and peered through window blinds to watch my movements. However, they did the same to other adults who came and went from the complex. There were no cordialities or pleasantries exchanged when two adults encountered each other. Their eyes did not meet, or, if they did, looked away very quickly. Adults made it very clear of which children their child (I assume it was their child) could or could not play with. Adults were observed instructing other children not to play in their yard and "go on to their house."

Many of the children at this complex played alone or in groups of two or three. Their playgroups were not as large as the playgroups of the other three complexes. The researcher assumed that there were social problems which existed in this site among adults. It was later learned, through an interview with management, that several adults were engaged in a verbal disagreement in which the police were called. Management further stated that the police seem to be called on a weekly basis as neighbors are engaged in a dispute.

The social problems observed at this site were confirmed by the recruitment efforts of the Boulder family literacy staff at the beginning of the 1998-99 academic year. The previous school year had met with much success in attendance for this site in the Family Literacy Program. However, the recruitment efforts for the 1998-99 academic school year were not successful. Several meetings were held and adults did attend. However, when one adult entered the room and saw another adult who she did not like, words were exchanged and both adults left the meeting. Other adults acted in the same manner and in little time the room was emptied. As a result, the family literacy staff has discontinued service to this site. Thus, another site will be chosen in its place.

Conclusion

The purpose of Pilot Study II was to develop a character sketch of each site, which may lead to insight of other factors which may affect parental participation in the Boulder Family Literacy Program. The results of Pilot Study II clearly show that there are internal dynamics at each housing community which could impact parental participation. Relations among parents within some of the housing communities dictated events the parent would attend. For example, one parent would not attend if she knew another parent was attending. Such relations affected the children as parents would or would not allow their children to play other children.

VITA

Karen Boudreaux is a native of Louisiana and the daughter of a sugarcane farmer. She grew-up in a rural community where she enjoyed the living in the country. She graduated high-school in 1987 and proceeded to the University of Southwestern Louisiana where she declared Elementary Education as her major. There, she joined Kappa Delta Pi and completed her bachelor's degree in December 1990. Karen gained employment in January 1991, but continued her education while teaching and completed her master's of Elementary Education in 1992.

Karen's professional career began in January 1991 when she began teaching the fifth grade at Parks Elementary in St. Martin Parish. The following school year, she moved to the fourth grade at the same school and taught for two additional years. In June 1993, Karen accepted a teaching position teaching children ages 3 to 7 in an in-patient, psychiatric hospital. She was offered the director's position shortly after and remained in this type of educational setting until August 1995. During this time, Karen became interested in the clinical model of family counseling she observed in the hospital. This prompted her to begin research in the area of Family Literacy.

In August 1995, Karen accepted a position as Facilitator for the Even Start Family Literacy Program in St. Martin Parish. The Even Start program was a federally-funded grant in its first year in St. Martin Parish. Karen began to apply her research and developed the Even Start Family Literacy Program in St. Martin Parish. The Even Start Family Literacy Program served undereducated adults, who were mostly low-income, single-parents. Karen continued to research Family Literacy Programs and develop staff training on research-based issues. Her research led her to enroll in the doctorate program in Educational Leadership and Research at Louisiana State University that same year, August 1995.

Karen developed the Even Start Family Literacy program through its first year then assumed the Facilitator's position in the Even Start Family Literacy Program in Lafayette Parish, where she currently resides, in August 1996. Karen's dissertation and her employment went hand-in-hand as she continually implemented new programs based on current research. She

completed the necessary requirements and became a certified evaluator. She completed contract work for K. T. & Associates during the Spring of 1998. This is where she was introduced to the site which she later chose as the sample for her study. In December 1999, Karen will be awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy with a major in Educational Leadership and Research from Louisiana State University.

In May, 1999, Karen assumed the position of Supervisor of Research and Evaluation in Lafayette Parish. In this position, Karen applied the research methodology she learned in her dissertation work. She researched, developed, and implemented criterion reference tests throughout the parish for curriculum monitoring and to provide teachers with a predictor of student performance on the state-mandated tests used for school accountability. She established a machine-readable facility for testing and survey data collection. She is currently working on a parish-wide system for the tracking of individual student test scores. It is her goal to be able to provide schools with the assistance of identifying potential areas of weaknesses for students as evidenced by their test scores over several years. It is further hoped that the test data for the parish can be analyzed to inform instruction, provide areas of needed staff development, and improve student achievement.

DOCTORAL EXAMINATION AND DISSERTATION REPORT

Candidate: Karen Boudreaux

Major Field: Educational Leadership and Research

Title of Dissertation: Parental Participation in a Title I Family
Literacy Program: Results from a Mixed-Model Study

Approved:

Cham Tedich Deanna Taylor
Chair Major Professor and Chairman
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Date of Examination:

20 October 1999